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REPORTAGE ON WARSAW PACT SOYUZ-81 MANEUVERS

Progress of Exercises

LD241732 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The joint exercises of staff commands of allied armies and fleets, code-named Soyuz-81, are continuing. In accordance with the plan of the joint command of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact signatory states, many battle operations of various types are being carried out. The exercises serve to improve the efficiency of commands and staffs and of the participating troops.

Defense Ministers at Maneuvers

AU241454 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 81 p 7

[CTK Warsaw dispatch: "They Followed the Activities of Units on Exercise"]

[Text] Warsaw (CTK)--Within the framework of the Soyuz-81 joint command-staff exercise that is taking place on the territories of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], the GDR, the CSSR and the USSR, Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers and minister of national defense; Heinz Hoffmann, GDR minister of national defense; and Army Gen Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense, arrived yesterday in one of the exercise areas on Poland's territory. Together with Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states and marshal of the Soviet Union, and other high officers of the fraternal armies, the ministers of national defense followed the units' activities.

Weather 'Difficult'

LD242330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Report by Major Marek Matysek from the Silesian Military District exercise area--live or recorded]

[Text] Today is another day and another phase in the Soyuz-81 exercise. The situation on the battlefield has changed. Following an attack by the opponent and in connection with the fact that he is bringing up fresh forces, it is our view that he is able to launch a counter-attack. Our opponent is occupying the line in front of us with his main force prepared for defense. Our own forces have developed their defense as regards engineering and have organized their fire system.

But I had better tell you, listeners, that the weather has changed. We have had some heavy rain, the ground is wet and muddy, and so conditions are changing from hour to hour.

Conditions for the conduct of operations are also changing. We have gone over from offensive operations to defense; having dealt with a water obstacle we are now defending ourselves. Our opponent is engaged in preparatory artillery shelling and we anticipate that he will attack. We can now hear automatic infantry fire; it is the company on the left in action. Up on the hill the enemy has started his attack and this is why all positions have opened fire and the outer defense line is engaged in fighting. [passage indistinct]

The present method of defense is the defense of maneuver, active defense, defense by counter-attack; without counterattacking it would become a position defense which at present has little chance of success.

On the right side we have the units of the Northern Group of Soviet Troops and helicopters have entered into the fighting. Helicopters were introduced in order to secure the counter-attack. I have mentioned that the air force is playing a part. Weather conditions are very difficult.

We have had some rain and during the night our units had to dig in to standing positions and so their effort was considerable. Every participant in the exercise, every soldier, has had to make a great effort. But this effort is later repaid by good training which the soldier receives as an expert, as a very good specialist.

The enemy will not give up. Other weapons are being used in combat on his side. A little while ago napalm was used. But both on the right and the left our own troops are setting out on a counterattack. The commanders who are cooperating in this have decided to mount a running counterattack. No doubt this will be successful because our opponent did not use enough force in his own counterattack. At this moment the advantage of power is on the allied side, by this I mean Polish units and Soviet units which are taking part in this exercise shoulder-to-shoulder.

On the right side vehicles are covering the foreground. This is a smoke screen provided by our own attacking units. But the enemy is not giving up and is stubbornly resisting the counterattack. [passage indistinct]

And so another phase of exercises has been completed. Troops have achieved success and moved forward.

TV Praises Soldiers

LD242334 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2045 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The joint command and staff exercise Soyuz-81 continues on the territory of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR. The forces taking part in the exercise have been visited by the ministers of defense of participating countries. Together with Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, and other high ranking officers, they followed the activities of units taking party in the exercise. The soldiers of the allied armies displayed, not only in front of the guests but also during the whole course of the exercise so far, a high degree of combat preparedness. They have shown that through their perfect mastery of modern military equipment and high moral-political standards they are ready to defend reliably the borders of the socialist community against the danger arising from the mounting aggressiveness of imperialism.

Soyuz-81 Activities 24 Mar

LD251140 Warsaw PAP in English 1108 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Mar (PAP)--March 24 was a successive day of the "Soyuz-81" command and staff exercises of the Warsaw Treaty armies and navies held in Poland, the GDR, the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

At one of the testing grounds, units of the Soviet, GDR and Polish Armies made a beach landing and overcame strong defences of an "enemy," attacked it and repelled its counter-attack.

In another region of operations, soldiers improved their abilities in overcoming water obstacles during the attack and parachutists landed at the "enemy's" rear.

During breaks in the exercises, soldiers hold meetings at soirees of friendship and brotherhood-in-arms and rallies. Soldiers have cordial meetings with the population of many localities and delegations of the three fraternal parties are hosted by party and administrative authorities of the regions and lay flowers at places of national remembrance.

Joint soirees of friendship at which soldiers of the Soviet, GDR, and Polish Armies stage their national performance provide an opportunity to present cultural attainments.

'Unshakable Brotherhood'

LD241838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Many various battle operations were carried out during the joint command and staff exercise of the allied armies and navies, which is progressing according to the plan drawn up by the united command of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and which is being held under the code name Soyuz-81.

Responding, by its character, to the needs of the contemporary battlefield, the exercise serves to achieve perfect efficiency of commands and their staffs, and to augment the efficiency of the participating forces of the Soviet Army, the Czechoslovak People's Army, the National People's Army of the GDR and the Polish Army.

The exercise, Soyuz-81, constitutes a manifestation of unity and friendship among socialist states, a confirmation of the unshakable brotherhood of the allied armies.

Exemplary Performance

LD242010 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The Soyuz-81 exercise [words indistinct] continued according to plan today with coordinated operations by the forces of the fraternal armies. In the central and southern part of the GDR, Defense Minister Army General Heinz Hoffmann, his deputies Colonel General Heinz Kessler and Colonel General Fritz Streletz, as well as the representative of the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty states' Joint Armed Forces attached to the National People's Army, Army General Ivan Shavrov, gained first hand evidence of the high military skill of the commanding officers, commanders, staffs and political organs. The command organs and staffs planned the defence against massed air, land and naval attacks by the assumed enemy; they organized the setting up of assault groups to continue operations and coordination with the fraternal armies taking part in Soyuz-81. Token forces of the National People's Army services were deployed on the battlefield in order to test the expediency of the decisions taken by commanding officers and commanders and the strategic tactical calculations of the staffs. In operations at sea, the forces of the GDR People's Navy proved themselves alongside the [Soviet] Baltic Fleet and the Polish Navy. Personnel of the [name indistinct] Unit performed a complicated battle assignment with excellent results. Helicopter crews, under Schmidt, fulfilled their assignment in an exemplary manner in close coordination with naval air force units of the Polish and Soviet Armies.

POLISH SOLIDARITY STRIKE ACTIONS 'PROVOCATIVE'

'Escalating Tension'

AU241654 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 81 p 7

[Pavol Minarik, CTK Warsaw dispatch: "Who Generates Provocations? The Latest Developments in Poland Lead to a Fresh Escalation of Tension"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw--Following the conflict staged by "Solidarity" in Bydgoszcz a few days ago, the situation in Poland is tense once again. The so-called warning strike held in Warsaw and other Polish cities on Friday, and the strike alert proclaimed by "Solidarity's" Gdansk headquarters for all its organizations for Monday, 23 March, document that the 90 days of calm declared by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski went against the grain of the anti-socialist forces that have infiltrated the leadership of "Solidarity." They want to discredit, whatever the cost, the government of the Polish People's Republic, in order to bar it and society as a whole from gaining the time and peace that are necessary to normalize life. They are searching for all kinds of pretexts to be able to stage new strikes.

Over the weekend, the bosses of the "Solidarity" Warsaw-Mazowsze branch literally flooded Poland's capital with provocative posters and statements, in which they spread untrue information on the situation in Bydgoszcz. They grossly attacked members of the public security corps and representatives of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship, and threatened them with punishment for having restored order and a normal course of the voivodship People's Council's session, which was provocatively disturbed by people from "Solidarity."

Even though the Mazowsze "Solidarity" branch in Warsaw has no business hours on Sundays, according to the timetable on its doors, yesterday it resembled a beehive. "Solidarity" shop stewards swarmed the premises to receive new information and instructions, handed out to them in printed form. Near the "Solidarity" headquarters and in the streets of Warsaw people with "Solidarity" badges on their sleeves and lapels were posting new provocative declarations vilifying, in turn, the Warsaw public security corps for maintaining order in the Polish People's Republic's capital. On Sunday, just as in the preceding 3 days, all that was taking place with the assistance of Swedish Television, which seems to have domestic rights in "Solidarity," together with other Western television companies. When on Saturday evening Polish Television acquainted the public, through eyewitness reports, with the course of the provocation in Bydgoszcz, representatives of the Bydgoszcz interfactory committee declined cooperation, refusing to give any information.

A strike alert has been declared also at Warsaw University. On Saturday the independent union of Warsaw University students issued three ultimatum-like demands pertaining to the conflict in Bydgoszcz and to "Solidarity's" immediate access to all Polish mass information and propaganda media. The students threatened that they will immediately begin to strike if the government does not fulfill those demands by 2200 on Sunday.

We are once again witnessing warning strikes and actions disturbing public order. A resolution of "Solidarity's" National Consultative Commission, that is being disseminated throughout the country, calls for a strike alert of all "Solidarity" organizations and members, and for their participation in a general strike. The appeal that those actions be prepared "in an atmosphere of earnestness and utmost responsibility" smacks of irony.

The latest events in Bydgoszcz once again and unambiguously convict the bosses of Walesa's "trade unions" of deliberately spreading chaos through constant provocations, preventing a remedy of the critical situation and escalating tension in the country, in an attempt to upset the very foundations of the socialist system in Poland.

'Hazardous' Resolution

LD241620 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Today, leaders of the so-called Solidarity, at the close of their 2-day meeting in Bydgoszcz, adopted a hazardous resolution proclaiming this Friday a national so-called warning 2-hour strike and next Tuesday a general strike. Thirty-five out a total of 41 members of the leadership voted in favor of this proposal of the leader of the so-called independent trade unions, Lech Walesa.

By this decision Solidarity has extremely complicated and sharpened the situation in the country. It has proved again that it is not ready to contribute to the calm which is necessary in Poland, but, on the contrary, that it is determined by increasingly provocative actions to continue to further worsen and dangerously aggravate the situation. This is in sharp contrast with the efforts of the government and the PZPR Central Committee to take joint concrete steps which would enable Poland to extricate itself from the present deep social and economic crisis.

The pretext for the new provocative decision of the so-called Polish independent trade unions, grossly violating the government's moratorium on strikes, was found by Solidarity's National Consultative Commission in the recent events in Bydgoszcz during which government bodies, though legal means, restored calm and order in the town.

Political Demands

LD241732 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The present situation in Poland has been dealt with at a meeting of the PZPR Politburo. This happened when, despite the party and government leadership's great efforts to normalize life and develop the country's economy, new unrest [word indistinct] (?by) leaders of the Walesa trade union occurred in Radom, Bydgoszcz, and other places contrary to agreements.

The main center of tension is now in Bydgoszca, where (?just) last week people from the Walesa trade union have been unlawfully occupying the building of the United Peasants Party provincial committee. From there they are demanding again the registration of the so-called Rural Solidarity, already rejected by the court. Solidarity leaders are intentionally magnifying, dramatizing the events in Bydgoszcz, and demanding punishment of the security forces for allegedly injuring Solidarity leader Rulewski [words indistinct] the resignation of leading representatives of some provinces and so on.

On the other hand, the Polish Government had put before the Solidarity leadership a three-point program which, as Solidarity sources say, is now being discussed by the National Consultative Commission in Bydgoszcz. This concerns especially the demand to create conditions for a normal investigation of last week's events in Bydgoszcz by a government commission.

Voices are being heard that the Solidarity leader in question was not injured by the security forces as alleged by Solidarity. Without this fact being (?researched), many Solidarity representatives have been disseminating unverified versions of the events which have led to a further deterioration of the situation in the country.

As a result of artificially organized unrest and violation of the strike moratorium on the part of Solidarity, the economic situation is deteriorating too. That's why the government in the second point of the program put before Solidarity calls for the breaking off of all occupation strikes, for the creation of conditions for normal work in agriculture, for an increase in production for exports, and for the abandonment of further wage demands. Point three of the program calls for an end to attacks and pressures on leading officials.

Solidarity leaders are coming out with ever new demands, now political ones, without being interested in solving the question of strikes in the country. This shows what the Walesa trade union is really interested in: undermining the very foundations of the socialist system in Poland.

'Chaos, Anarchy'

LD241858 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Mar 81

["Commentary of the Day," by Pavel Kopecky]

[Text] The leadership of the Walesa trade unions today put its cards on the table. After almost 2 days of deliberations by the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity, a provocative, hazardous decision was made to call a national 2-hour warning strike next Friday, and a general strike next Tuesday. This decision underlines the general characteristics of the Walesa trade unions which, on the one hand, use every opportunity to (?swear by) the Polish working class and proclaim the alleged nonpolitical character of the entire organization, and, on the other, act against the interests of Polish working people.

Chaos, anarchy, strikes--in other words the maintenance of constant tension and an atmosphere of unbridled emotions--these are the methods which, according to the statements of advisers from the antistate and antisocialist grouping, [KOR], the Social Self-Defense are to be used in Poland to disrupt the socialist system. Messrs Kuron, Michnik and others of their ilk never concealed these aims of their activities. Today, they were quite openly joined by the leaders of the Walesa trade unions who, regardless of the difficult economic and complicated political situation in the country, came out with a new program of strikes. In order to justify their actions before the Polish public they used--not the first time in the past 6 months--a fabricated pretext. This time, they found it convenient that the Polish public security service, quite in accordance with valid legal regulations and laws, acted against unruly elements of the Walesa trade unions who recently illegally occupied the building of the voivodship People's Council in Bydgoszcz. Naturally, the leaders of the Walesa trade unions could have found anything else as a pretext, but they would have found it difficult to conceal the true reasons behind their activities.

It is quite obvious that they found the fact that the great majority of Poles welcomed positively the recent appeal of the Council of Ministers chairman, Wojciech Jaruzelski, for 90 calm working days, most repugnant. Somehow, they could not reconcile themselves to the fact that normal, creative work would be the order of the day in Poland. Therefore, they have chosen the tack promoted by antisocialist forces.

Today's decision by the national leadership of the Walesa trade unions has revealed the aims of the organization in a true light. They are not concerned with contributing to a calming down in Poland, but, on the contrary, they dangerously intend to exacerbate the situation through further provocative actions, up to the ultimate aim--the disruption of socialism.

All this is in sharp contrast with the efforts of the PZPR and government which, together with upright Poles, intend to take concrete steps toward overcoming the current deep social and economic crisis. In these efforts the Polish communists and socialist Poland will have all the necessary assistance of fraternal socialist countries. As was stated from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress by Leonid Brezhnev, the Polish communists, the Polish working class and laboring people of that country can firmly rely on their friends and allies: We will not leave socialist Poland, fraternal Poland, in the lurch and we will not allow it to be harmed by anybody.

'INDEPENDENT' POLISH TRADE UNION DELEGATION VISITS

AU241430 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Mar 81 p 3

["ASK"-signed report: "Investment in Cooperation; Talks of Czechoslovak and Polish Trade Unionists"]

[Text] Prague--Representatives of the Trade Union of Workers in the Textile, Clothing and Leatherworking Industries led by M. Trvalova, chairman of the trade union, have welcomed in Prague a delegation of the Central Committee of the independent Polish Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Trade Union led by its Chairman T. Banasiak. Other delegation members are Z. Polakova, S. Nastarowicz and B. Natorska.

On Saturday, the opening day of the 2-day talks, also attended by J. Kriz, secretary general of the International Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers' Trade Union, T. Banasiak appraised the importance of the recent visit by a Central Council of Trade Unions [URO] delegation to Poland and the signing of an agreement between URO and the national coordinating commission of Polish branch trade unions. The employees of textile enterprises, always a vanguard of the Polish workers movement and the only ones to have fulfilled last year's production tasks, are grateful to the Czechoslovak trade unions for the assistance they are extending to Poland. Especially working women have welcomed the assistance, pointing out that the proverb "a friend in need is a friend indeed" has once again proved to be true.

During their meeting in Prague, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the representatives of both trade unions exchanged information on the sociopolitical and economic situation and on experiences from their trade union activities. On Sunday evening at the close of their talks they signed an agreement on cooperation between the two trade unions. The agreement focuses on exchange of information and experiences between central and regional bodies but also on cooperation between factory trade union organizations. Czechoslovak trade unionists will allot Pioneer camp sojourns to Polish children as well as recreational sojourns and spa cures to members of the Polish trade union.

During their stay in Prague the Polish guests laid a bouquet at the national monument on Zizhov hill. Today the delegation will meet in Hradec Kralove with representatives of the trade union committee of the furrier and fancy goods industry and with trade unionists of the Tepna Nachod factory.

LENART, OFFICIALS RECEIVE NEW CUBAN ENVOY

LD241138 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSI Central Committee, received in Bratislava today Sidroc Ramos Palacio, the new ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to Czechoslovakia. Lenart briefed him about the economic, social and cultural development of Slovakia. The new Cuban diplomat also made inaugural calls on Peter Colotka, member of the CPSZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Premier, Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and other representatives of the political and social life in Slovakia.

JOZEF LENART DELIVERS REPORT AT CPSL CONGRESS

LD211418 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 81 pp 2-5

[Report of the CPSL Central Committee, delivered by Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and member of the CPCZ Central Committee, at 20 March opening session of the CPSL Congress--live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Husak, esteemed delegation of the CPCZ, esteemed comrade delegates, dear guests.

Our congress, which represents a culmination in the Slovak Socialist Republic of the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress, is meeting on the eve of the glorious 60th anniversary of the foundation of our revolutionary party. We recall the heroic path of the vanguard of the working class, the acknowledged leader of the working people, in the struggles against exploitation, for social and national liberation, for the construction of the socialist social order. Since its birth in May 1921, and especially after the fifth congress, which was linked with the unforgettable Klement Gottwald, the party, even in Slovakia, has headed the struggle of the proletariat, the peasant masses, as well as of other working people.

During the period of the world economic crisis, in uniting the broad strata of the population for the defense of the republic and against the war, in the antifascist national liberation struggle, particularly in the famous days of the Slovak National Uprising, the communists were the most consistent patriotic and internationalist political force. They deserved their authority and natural respect. After the liberation of our homeland by the heroic Soviet Army this trust in the policy of the party deepened further. This enabled the defeat, in February 1948, of the attempt, by the bourgeoisie, at the counterrevolutionary putsch and allowed us to embark on the path of socialist construction.

Under the leadership of the party the working people have carried out deep social transformations, particularly an extensive program of industrialization and socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Radical changes in social relations have been achieved, the thinking of the people has changed. During the epoch of socialism Slovakia has become elevated from a country of proverbial poverty, emigration and backwardness to a modern multilaterally developed part of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It has become a country of developed industry, advanced agriculture, of educated and confident working people.

These are the fruits of cooperation between the fraternal peoples--the Czechs, the Slovaks and the nationalities living in the republic. It is evidence of the advantages of the socialist social order, of the viability of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of the party's policy.

Drawing experience and inspiration from the 60-year journey of our CPCZ, we think with gratitude of the party's founding generation, of all those comrades who laid the foundations for the present, in the class struggle, in the antifascist and national liberation movements, in the building of socialism, as well in defending the gains of the revolution. During the struggle against capitalism, and during construction of the new life, Leninist teaching was our revolutionary weapon and a reliable compass. We have become convinced that each time our party followed Leninism it was internally unified and capable of action; it had the trust and support of the working people and it scored successes. Conversely, whenever it deviated from Leninism, we could not avoid serious mistakes and crisis situations.

Just like the entire party, the CPSL Central Committee and its organs--having in mind the conclusions formulated by the CPCZ Central Committee on the basis of the lessons drawn from the crisis-ridden development--is consistently based on Leninist teaching and implements Leninist principles in the life of the party and the society.

The CPSL Congress was to give an account of how the party in Slovakia has been fulfilling the line of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the tasks stemming from the CPSL Congress resolution. The realistic facts contained in the written report for the congress delegates about implementing this line and resolution give us justification, comrades, to note responsibly that in building the advanced socialist society--the program set by the 14th and worked out by the 15th CPCZ Congresses--we have achieved significant results.

The material-technical base has been extended. We have recorded a certain progress in improving efficiency and quality. On this basis the living standards of working people have grown and their social guarantees have been strengthened. The leading role of the working class in society has grown, its bonds with cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia have been intensified, the trend of drawing closer together socialist classes and social groups has been strengthened. The political system is gradually being perfected; the participation of working people in the creation and fulfilment of policy, in the administration of the state and management of affairs of the entire society, is growing.

In the past period the process of development and drawing closer together of our nations and nationalities on principles of equal rights and mutual trust further continued. Results unequivocally confirm the correctness of the conclusions of the 15th congress that the achieved degree of unity and internationalist brotherhood between Czechs and Slovaks and nationalities living in our territory are among the most important historic achievements of our revolutionary workers' movement in the struggles of our party and people. The process of development and drawing closer together of nations and nationalities in conditions of the construction of a developed socialist society continues further. In it merges dialectically the development of both our nations--Czechs and Slovaks, and nationalities, with the development of the Czechoslovak statehood, which relies on the political cohesion of the working class and all working people as well as the unified Czechoslovak economy.

Along with the economic development and growth of the economic strength of Slovakia, educational and cultural standards are rising too. The tremendous development of schooling, especially of schools of higher learning, the training of working youth for specialized work, the dynamic growth of science as well as the high standards of culture, are all quite eloquent. The federal state system in all spheres acts as an important factor giving an impulse to creative forces of our nations, enhances the feelings of responsibility for the common cause and, at the same time, also makes it possible to assert specific requirements and interests.

We in the Slovak Socialist Republic always turn to the Czech nation as to our brothers. The selfless help of the Czech working class, of the intelligentsia and the entire nation in the overall improvements of Slovakia are deeply engraved in our hearts. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is our common home and its strength is multiplied by the unity of our nations and nationalities. We will further strengthen this unity, we will brandish the banner of socialist patriotism and internationalism. [applause]

In our everyday work we will step up efforts to increase the share of Slovakia in the development of Socialist Czechoslovakia and to make it increasingly effective. The working people of Slovakia, with communists at their head, will continue honorably to contribute to the burgeoning of our homeland, to the strengthening of its weight and authority in the world. The basic principles and values of socialism are being strengthened in the minds of the broad masses. The progressive materialist world outlook is becoming the predominant aspect in the spiritual profile and the foundation of the orientation of the life of the overwhelming majority of the population.

In the fulfillment of the line of the program of the 15th congress the CPSL, as a faithful detachment of the CPCZ, further consolidated itself politically, ideologically and organizationally; its capacity to act has grown, its leading role has been intensified and its authority in society has been strengthened. Summing up, we are able to state that the past 5 years were a fruitful, though not an easy, period. Though the conditions for the fulfillment of our aims were much more complicated than at the start of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, and though we did not succeed in fully reacting to them, we raised further in all respects our socialist homeland and, in its framework, Slovakia too.

Everything which we have created, everything by which we have improved society in the material and spiritual sense, confirms quite unequivocally the correctness of our path, the vitality of the Leninist orientation of the policy which the party leadership, with the great merit and the personal endeavors of Comrade Husak, has consistently pursued in a principled manner since April 1969. [applause]

This was the orientation on whose basis the party united and renewed its role of an active militant vanguard of the working class and of all other working people of our country. Thanks to this orientation, our people defeated the counterrevolution and we were thus able quickly to consolidate society. It was and is the orientation which has made the party capable of proposing and implementing the program of the building of advanced socialism. We are also convinced that the well-tried Leninist path, the path pioneered by the CPCZ Central Committee, gives every promise of not stagnating but of continuing boldly, creatively and successfully to tackle new tasks.

Comrades, the preparation of our congress has been significantly influenced by the progress and the results of the 26th CPSU Congress. We are still full of the ideas and the creative incentives of the supreme meeting of the Soviet communists which, by creatively developing Leninism in the current conditions, has become a powerful impulse for a new development of the Soviet country, for strengthening the socialist community, the international communist movement, for defending peace.

The grand mobilization aims set by the Soviet communists, the bold, but realistic program which before the eyes of mankind yet again demonstrates the peace policy of the Soviet Union, as well its irreversible line of peaceful coexistence, confirm this belief.

The main thing, Comrade Brezhnev said at the congress, which is above all typical of the path of the party in recent years is the successful preservation of peace. All the Soviet people identify with this idea. That is why both communists and nonparty people, as well as people of different ages and occupations say with all their hearts: Thank you for this, party. [applause] It is a confession which we also subscribe to. It also expresses our ideas and emotions. Yet, we too, comrades, our people, our peoples, know that it is above all the Soviet Union, the Soviet communists to whom we are grateful for the successes in the preservation of peace, in opposing the aggressive intrigues of the imperialists, so that we too can devote ourselves to construction work.

Allow me to send from this rostrum, on behalf of the communists and the rest of the working people of Slovakia, most sincere greetings to the CPSU and the Soviet people. [applause, shouts of "Long Live the Soviet Union"] Let us send warm greetings to the creative follower of Lenin's task, of the task of communist construction, the unswerving fighter for peace, the friend of our peoples, the highly esteemed Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [applause]

We Czechoslovak communists endorse the results of the 26th congress, and as Comrade Husak said at the congress, we lean on the rich experience and the help of the Soviet communists. We march in close alliance with the CPSU. For us, as well as for other socialist countries, the bold plans which the Soviet people set for themselves open new possibilities for even more fruitful and more efficient cooperation. This, too, gives us encouragement and strengthens our certainty.

Our interest is also aroused by the approach of the Soviet comrades to the creation and implementation of plans they put in the center of attention, as if on the highest pedestal, as always--and today even more significantly--the needs of man and his well-being. Equally, we can and must be inspired by the way Soviet comrades, in the interest of man and his well-being, resolutely assert the raising of quality and effectiveness by perfecting the scientific-technical progress and perfecting the mechanism of management. In the same way they also stress the need for modern thinking. We draw, and can draw, impulses from the creative patriotism and profound internationalist thinking and feeling manifested in the work of Soviet people and their concern for the fate of mankind.

Allow me, esteemed comrades, to wish our Soviet brothers the greatest possible success in implementing the resolutions of the 26th congress. [applause]

Reactionary imperialist circles, trying to impair the process of relaxation of international tension, try at the same time to impair the unity of countries of the socialist community, especially the alliance with the USSR. In their attempts to liquidate the socialist system, they support and incite antisocialist forces--as we see in the Polish People's Republic. Comrade Husak stressed at the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session, that we firmly stand on the side of the Polish communists and the fraternal Polish people, and we are convinced they have sufficient strength to overcome the difficulties of the present period and repel the onslaught [napor] of the internal and external enemies of socialism.

The imperialist forces are mistaken if they expect that, by means of feverish rearming and ideological subversion, they will gain supremacy and lost positions. They logically met with the resolute opposition of the peace-loving forces as well as with lack of acceptance [of their plans] by realistically thinking politicians in capitalist countries. The socialist community, at the head of progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces, has sufficient means to frustrate the hazardous adventures of world imperialism.

We highly appreciate and fully endorse the foreign-political program of the 26th CPSU Congress, a concrete program of struggle for an intensification of detente, for halting the arms race. The statement by Comrade Brezhnev that the Soviet people not only has the wish but also the political will to do everything in the name of peace--a peace which is lasting and unshakeable--also strengthens our forces in the struggle for the relaxation of international tension. In this same interest, the people of Slovakia will further contribute to the growth of the economic and defense strength of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to its active participation in the development of the entire socialist community, in cementing the unity and cooperation of socialist countries, in deepening our unbreakable bonds with the fraternal USSR.

Comrades! A key role in the creative and multifarious activity of the party is played by economic policy. In the spirit of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress, we aimed ourselves at further development of productive forces and socialist production relations. By means of social and economic development we, above all, aimed at a balanced growth of living standards and a further strengthening of the social well-being of the population. The main purpose of our endeavors was, and still is, overall development of man as the creator and user of economic wealth.

In unfavorable internal and external conditions, we endeavoured for the economy of the Slovak Socialist Republic to contribute even better to ensuring the needs of the entire state. The creative activity of the working people in Slovakia resulted in a growth of the economy which further strengthened the economic potential of Czechoslovakia, and helped create conditions for the better satisfaction of the needs of the population and for further progress.

Such a development of the economy in Slovakia was made possible by the fact that it relied on the united material-technical base of the entire Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and on the fraternal help of the Czech working class and technical intelligentsia. Such a development of the economy was achieved in a period when the great differences in conditions of the economic, social and cultural life of our nations and individual areas of the state--as was noted by the 15th CPCZ Congress--have already been overcome. The results achieved again confirm the great advantages of the socialist social system. They significantly reflect our membership in the community of socialist countries, and above all the advantageousness of the ever-developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR. In the years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan the volume of social production in Slovakia increased by approximately one-quarter. Industrial production in 1980 exceeded the level of the year 1975 by one-third and the share in all-state production rose from 27.6 percent to 29.4 percent in 1980. Building construction increased by almost one-fourth. Agricultural production, in spite of unfavorable weather conditions, increased compared with the previous 5-year period by 10 percent.

The economy of the Slovak Socialist Republic is becoming an ever more important part of the united Czechoslovak economy. Its share in the creation of national income of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has grown from 28.3 percent in 1975 to 29.2 percent in 1980.

Production branches in the Slovak Socialist Republic shared in the past 5-year plan in the overall increment of the social product of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by 38 percent, in the increase of industrial production by 36 percent, while sharing to a proportion of 32 percent in the statewide increment of basic assets of machinery. A higher time utilization of machines and equipment has been achieved, the return of investments equalled that of the whole state and a higher growth in the profitability of production has been achieved. At the same time the majority of some important production, such as additional productions of chemical fibers, almost half of the increase in production of electric power and an important portion of the statewide increase in production of rolled materials, steel tubes and other products have been realized in Slovakia. The share of Slovak Socialist Republic agriculture in statewide production, in supplying the population with basic foodstuffs, has risen.

The structural reconstruction of industry has been pursued. Branches decisive in technical progress, engineering, electric technology, the chemical industry and the power industry shared to a proportion of almost 60 percent in the overall growth of industrial production in Slovakia. In the Sixth 5-Year Plan we completed the construction and mastered the running of such important and technically demanding achievements for the state as the V-I atomic power station at Jaslovske Bohunice, the production of precision drawn tubes at the Sverma ironworks, the capacities of the petrochemical complex in Slovnaft, and the modernization of metallurgical capacities in the East Slovak ironworks. Further sections of the highway have been added in Slovakia.

By means of the development of the economy we have created conditions for an introduction of the entire increment of the able-bodied population in Slovakia into the working process as well as for a further increase in economic activity by women. The technical equipment for work has been substantially increased, and at the same time, the qualifications of working people have increased. A full two-thirds of the increment of the labor force went into industry, science and research, education, the health services and some other branches.

The scientific research base in Slovakia today is manned by 50,000 workers. We have achieved further successes in raising living standards. This is borne out by the fact that the average earnings of workers in the socialist sector grew, compared with 1975, by Kcs345 and reached statewide levels.

Total monetary incomes have increased by 28 percent and have reached the value of Kcs108 billion, which represents just a little over 30 percent of the statewide volume. The sales of food and durable consumer goods have increased. The expenditure for social consumption has also increased. Care of the younger generation, of families with children, working mothers and care for the health of our citizens has improved. Kcs5.5 billion went for loans to newlyweds, out of which the state paid Kcs810 million on the birth of children. In health care, over 8,000 beds have been completed and taken over by contractors since the last congress. The number of beds in hospitals per thousand inhabitants of the Slovak Socialist Republic has thus reached 7.1. The number of inhabitants per doctor has dropped from 375 to 312 people. We have successfully fulfilled the congress-set task to build 230,000 flats. Almost 30 percent of the entire population of Slovakia now lives in houses built in the past decade.

Particular attention was paid by party and state organs to the development of Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The decisive issues of, in particular, water, heat and electricity supplies have been tackled more intensively. The construction of almost 27,000 flats represents a significant step forward in solving the housing problem. Engineering and chemical works are being expanded, which means further increasing the industrial character of the city. The progress in the social sphere has made it possible to better satisfy the needs of the people and has also represented a further incentive for labor initiative.

In assessing the results of the past period from the congress rostrum we express sincere thanks, acknowledgement and esteem to front-ranking labor collectives and individuals, above all, to the brigades of socialist labor, innovators and improvers, complex rationalization brigades, competing collectives and to all those who, through their courageous work, involvement and initiative, contributed to the improvement of our lives. [applause]

Comrades, when taking stock, we must always confront the results achieved with the objective needs, with the planned tasks and also with what we could have achieved while fully utilizing and creating resources. Certain progress has been recorded in improving the quality of products, as well as in reducing demands on production materials. But the rate of first-class output, the degree of optimal utilization of raw materials, energy and the growing demands of the present day. This is also reflected in the dissatisfaction with the quality and the usable value of some goods offered on the domestic market. This is also the main reason why, in foreign markets, we get lower prices and thus also are at a disadvantage regarding the prices of imported products. We have not succeeded in achieving a turnover in the sphere of investments. We still have not managed to concentrate our efforts on the timely completion of projects under construction and their commissioning in time and on quickly achieving the planned parameters. As a result of this, vast resources are tied up in unfinished building projects and in unused machinery, often expensively imported.

In agriculture, the output of grain has increased, above all, thanks to the increase of yields per hectare. The output of corn has increased essentially because of the increase in acreage. However, the stagnation in the potato and sugar beet output has not been overcome. The requested output level of bulk fodder, vegetables and fruit has not been reached.

The disparity between agricultural and livestock production has necessitated additional imports of fodder. The speed of our development is being hampered not only by the failure to fulfill the planned tasks in regard to time and variety, but also by imperfect plans, the lack of effective reserves and poor links between the various spheres of our national economy.

This is manifested in failures to meet the needs of the working people and in a serious disharmony in producer-consumer relations.

Following the session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, too, has dealt with solving problems and with overcoming existing shortcomings. The CPSL Central Committee has put emphasis on scientific-technological development, effective management and the development of the initiative of the working people in the interest of improving quality and effectiveness in industry and agriculture. Our analysis has shown that the main causes of shortcomings are subjective in nature, that they can be found in ourselves, in our work and potential, and in our attitude. We have to say that these problems, shortcomings and weaknesses manifest themselves very acutely and clearly and have a significant impact in regard to our inadequate preparedness. This is particularly true in the present situation.

Why is it so? Why do we feel these shortcomings so acutely? We are aware of the fact that the creative and selfless work of the party and of all working people has logically created a situation in which we are building a developed socialist society. This is the main point. An advanced socialist society makes greater demands on effectiveness and quality. This stage is characterized by an increased demand on the final result of work. Advanced socialism is matched with an ever more harmonious development of the entire society, of all classes, social groups and individuals. It is matched with more sensible needs, which are better satisfied.

The urgency of the need to make a decisive turn from simply industrial management to an effective and intensive type of development and management of the national economy is also a result of the fact that our economy has no more room for extensive development and that there are no more labor resources while at the same time it is true that there is a large amount of basic production funds which are not being sufficiently used. For this reason there is no alternative or choice but to use as fully as possible the existing working and material-technological capacities, which have grown considerably in the stage of building socialism.

The problems, shortcomings and weaknesses in our work are seen more clearly and have more important consequences also as a result of the more complex external and internal price situation. The point is that the ever greater costs of extracting fuels and raw materials, of extracting coal and ores domestically, of growing timber and of increasing crop yields are having a great influence on our economy. Every year we need more and more expensive ecological projects for the protection of the water, the atmosphere and the soil. Abroad, the costs of extracting fuels and raw materials are growing in both the socialist and capitalist countries since they must be obtained under ever more complex conditions, at greater depths both on land and under the sea, in inaccessible areas and in polar regions, and then they must be transported over longer distances. This is one of the fundamental causes of the growth in the cost of fuels and raw materials. Predictions indicate that we cannot count on a drop in prices for either domestic or imported fuels or raw materials in the near future, but that we must take into account certain increases in their cost. We know what this means for us as a manufacturing country which must import raw materials and even fuels on a large scale.

The rapid pace of scientific and technological development in both the socialist and capitalist countries is becoming an increasingly more influential factor. Those who are developing sciences at a more rapid pace and who are also realizing the results of this in the form of tangible products are gaining economic advantages and are making a more rapid progress. The crisis phenomena and the very class essence of capitalist society are creating serious obstacles and raising serious problems for capitalism along this path.

In contrast to this, all the prerequisites are materializing in the building of advanced socialism to link our development with the sciences in an even better way and to make even better use of them for the well-being of man.

This is why, comrades, it is a truly basic and, I would say, even vital interest of workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia to lend their strength, their skills and their will to more rapidly using the sciences and to increasing quality and efficiency. In factories, in scientific and research establishments, in design offices, at construction sites and in the service sector we must launch a large-scale offensive in order to make progress in this respect. In addition, our findings and analyses, which are in basic harmony with the draft of the Principal Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for the Period 1981-85, underline the need to orient unequivocally the conceptual, organizational and managerial work of the party, state and economic bodies and organizations in Slovakia toward the qualitative aspects of development.

For this very reason, an all-round intensification, a marked increase in the proportion of top quality products, a radical improvement in the effectiveness of fixed assets, a more rapid use of the results of scientific and technological development, and our more active participation in international, socialist economic integration must form the content of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In keeping with The Principal Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for the Period 1981-85, we regard it as essential to orient the economy of Slovakia toward an even more effective exploitation of its natural and economic potential and toward increasing its role in the creation of statewide resources with the aim of contributing as much as possible to a lasting, effective development of the Czechoslovak economy. By a concentrated effort to more intensively tap the qualifications of workers, the scientific and technological potential and the creative initiative of the people, by improved management and by better use of the labour force we can achieve even in the more complex situation in the Slovak Socialist Republic a growth in national income of 18-20 percent by the end of 1985.

As has been shown by analyses, the key factor in the development of social production will continue to be industry, the output of which will increase by 23-25 percent. In regard to the various sectors, the position of the engineering sector, the electrical engineering industry and, in particular, electronics is to be strengthened. Its level of output ought to grow by roughly 50 percent. The reason we will be developing them is because they add greater value in relation to what is invested and because these spheres have the best preconditions for enhancing the export performance of the Czechoslovak national economy as well as for raising its technical level and effectiveness.

The output of the electronics industry in terms of both capital goods and the articles for consumption--including microelectronics; robots and manipulators; machine tools; molding machines; textile, building and road-building machines; tractors; trucks; and equipment for the nuclear power industry, the finishing branches and, in particular, the hydraulics sector--will be increased by means of changes in the structure of the individual branches of industry.

It is necessary to implement rapidly the innovation programs aimed at increasing the utility of the means of transportion, of building machines, of agricultural and forestry machinery, of consumer durables and of other products.

The increase in production must be organically linked with the structural changes and technical improvements. We wish to and must direct ourselves toward producing goods which use more electronics, reach high technical and economic standards, contribute more to the creation of national income and significantly increase productivity.

It is a task for researchers, innovators, and builders and workers in technology, but above all it is a task for managers. The fulfillment of the task depends upon their creativity and determination as well as on their ability to link and combine their strength with the units in the CEMA countries, above all in the Soviet Union. At the same time, this is the path of increasing our exports, to achieving a 4.5-5 percent annual saving in metals, and to achieving a somewhat smaller saving in electrical power so as to save investment expenses for energy-producing industry projects.

The current rapid rate of development will also be maintained in other areas--those using domestic raw materials. The increase in the output of the wood processing industry will be about 30 percent, and this should be achieved by a significant drop in the export of wood, by better use of leaf wood for producing cellulose, as well as by better use of wood waste for technological and chemical processing. One pressing task is to complete and ensure faultless production operations in Bukoza, in Vrancv, in the pulp mills in Zilina and Sturovo. Primary attention should be paid to completing and inaugurating the cellulose-paper factory in Ruzomberok and to have it in operation by the third quarter of this year. It is also necessary to improve the quality of structural materials and to increase the assortment of furniture.

The growth of the CSSR's fuel-energy foundation presents us with exceptionally demanding tasks. We stressed with great urgency the fact that the further growth of the economy of Slovakia is directly dependent upon the development of the CSSR's fuel-energy foundation. For this reason, all the organizations involved must with the greatest responsibility fulfil the tasks set down in the plan for the North Bohemia brown coal mining area and the Ostrava-Karvina collieries. This must be done regardless of whether it involves changes in the allocation of construction capacities, the enrollment of workers or the supplies of products and equipment. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan we are to commission in Slovakia electricity generating capacities exceeding 1.5 billion watts, and we are to do this solely on the basis of nuclear and hydro energy. Conditions will be created through the construction of the nuclear power station at Mochovce and the hydro projects at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros for the generation of a further 2.2 billion watts of power during the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This will make it possible to participate to a greater extent in meeting national electricity needs.

We must also pay attention to the development of the gas industry and to the extraction of coal and lignite. A national increase of 35-40 percent in the growth of natural gas is to be obtained in the Seventh 5-Year Plan by means of fully using existing capacities and by commissioning new ones. In view of the irreplaceable role of coal as a source of energy, it is necessary to improve immediately the preparation of the stocks in the Slovak collieries and the preparations for the construction of the new extraction site at Gbely.

The main tasks in metallurgy will be to take action quickly to use metals more fully, to reduce the consumption of electricity, to improve the quality of metallurgical materials and to use basic raw materials in a better way. It will be necessary to improve the valorization of the steel used in the initial production of metals by about 3.5 percent. In order to achieve this goal, it will be necessary to complete as early as this year the construction and commissioning of capacities for producing 900,000 tons of steel by means of continuous processing technology. In 1984, we must complete the construction of the large-scale coking battery and complete all other necessary projects in the East Slovakia iron plant.

Equally great attention must be paid to other intensification and modernization efforts, such as finishing all the production capacities planned in the pipe program at the Sverma steel plant in Podbrezova as well as the capacities for the production of steel cords at Hlohovec, intensifying the production of aluminium oxide, copper, nickel and their alloys, and increasing the capacity for more fully using magnesite raw materials.

Inevitably, measures must be taken to increase the level of high-standard products in the chemical industry. Above all, products for the electronics, pharmaceutical and consumer goods industries and agriculture will be involved, as will chemical fibers with new generation qualities. A growth in the output of chemicals of over 10 percent must be secured by better use of raw materials.

The responsibility of the agriculture and food complex as well as of its supply sector will increase in the coming period as a result of the more consistent implementation of the task set by the 15th congress to increase self-sufficiency in food supply. That is why we must more decisively mobilize and better utilize the production capabilities of Slovakia and more consistently work to balance the level of agricultural production and the quality of food output in the Slovak Socialist Republic with the level and quality in the Czech Socialist Republic. This is also related to the task of increasing agricultural production by 12-13 percent and of increasing food output by 13-14 percent. The planned increase in animal production of 9 percent demands a doubling of the rate of development of plant production.

We are disturbed by the fact that we are experiencing disproportionate losses of land, above all of arable land. The loss of arable land has been over 150,000 hectares during the past 10 years, the amount of arable land per inhabitant having decreased from .37 hectares to .30 hectares. During this period the number of inhabitants of Slovakia has increased by over 10 percent, but the amount of land has dropped by 9 percent. This data is a warning signal indicating our irresponsible handling of land--our greatest natural resource as well as an irreplaceable source of food production. It instructs us to change radically our attitude toward land, also bearing in mind our responsibility toward future generations. We must consistently follow the law regarding the protection of agricultural soil, and we must take appropriate sanctions in cases of its violation. Agricultural enterprises and national committees must adopt measures to ensure the use of every single meter of soil. Land unsuitable for agricultural mass production must be allocated as soon as possible to the union of allotment holders, to small farmers or to other organizations of the National Front. It is necessary to view the intensive use of this land as an important source for producing vegetables and fruit and animal products for self-supply and for enriching the market, including the provision of feed on a contractual basis. Soil productivity must be consistently increased overall by more rationally using fertilizers and chemical products for agriculture, by fulfilling the tasks in agricultural land improvement, particularly in building irrigation systems, as well as by more intensively using already existing irrigation systems.

The good results achieved in ensuring the production of grain crops are an incentive for us to make more energetic progress in implementing scientifically based methods in the production of other crops. Above all, we must more widely use the progressive strains of seeds and seedlings, minimize harvest losses and improve the quality of preserving the stored produce, particularly fodder.

The task in livestock production will be above all to develop breeding. In this 5-year plan, the number of livestock is to grow by 60,000-70,000. Of this, the number of cows is to grow by more than 20,000 and the number of sheep by 110,000 [figure as heard].

The breeding of pigs and poultry must be regulated by the amount of hard fodder resources. In regard to pigs, it is imperative to reduce the consumption of hard fodder at least by 150 grams per animal per each kilo of growth. The preferential development of breeding contributes to achieving self-sufficiency in grain, aids rationalization of the feeding of the people and creates raw materials resources for the processing industries. For all these reasons breeding is stimulated with new economic tools.

One of the reserves for the growth of agricultural production is in overcoming the failures of a considerable number of agricultural enterprises in some spheres and areas of production. A new path and new possibilities in this regard have been outlined by the West Slovakia Region. Since 1980, socialist competition on the basis of joint socialist pledges has been developed here within the framework of cooperative districts. The importance of this movement is that agricultural enterprises, through their comprehensive approach to solving problems, and through their collective responsibility for the fulfillment of the tasks of the entire district, are helping individual enterprises to overcome their shortcomings and to improve their standards. The fact that active contributions are now being made by other organizations, scientific research institutes and schools of higher education is also valuable.

The results achieved so far show that this is a long-term method of developing initiative, and we will therefore support it. In connection with the mobilization of the aforementioned reserves, particular attention must be paid by the state and economic organs, the scientific and technological organizations and the services to the development of agricultural production in the East Slovakia Region. In order to fulfill the demanding tasks in agricultural production it is necessary to continue to equip agriculture with progressive technology, tractors, sowing machines, machinery for basic agricultural technological processes, wheat harvesting machines, special trucks, and technological supplies for the production of fruit, vegetables and other crops. It is particularly important to ensure technology for the production and harvesting of fodder in inaccessible places and in hilly areas, to ensure stable technology and to ensure adequate supplies of spare parts. In agricultural enterprises it is necessary to valorize all funds to a considerable extent. It is imperative to improve the quality of care for machinery and equipment, to maintain and repair it properly, to use both organic and industrial fertilizers more rationally and to reduce the cost of investment development.

It is desirable to use the labor force more productively during the winter months, too. In keeping with the development of agricultural production and by means of integration with primary production, the food industry has the task of increasing coresponsibility for the quality of raw materials, of using them more intensively and, at the same time, of improving the levels of hygiene and of the quality of the final products, above all of meat and dairy products.

It is necessary to place greater emphasis on innovation and on increasing the types of semi-finished products and industrially prepared ready-to-eat meals. It is necessary to speed up the process of rationalizing nutrition by means of a more purposeful attitude on the part of the food industry and the trade organizations and with the more effective help of health propaganda and education. It is necessary to insist more determinedly on a more economic attitude toward food in economic organizations, schools and families.

The chief task of the forestry sector will be to ensure a sufficient quantity of timber while at the same time paying due regard to the production capacity of forests. For this purpose it is necessary to create proper conditions in the sphere of mechanization and in regard to access to forests with trees that are too old. Demands will also increase in regard to the role of the forests in ensuring ecological balance and in meeting the health and recreational needs of the population. For this reason it will be particularly necessary to increase the quality of biological material, to speed up afforestation and to make this process more effective. The same also applies to the treatment of trees.

In the field of water conservancy, there will be during the next few 5-year periods a very strained balance between water resources and requirements. This is particularly due to the growing water consumption of individual households, to irrigation of farmlands, and to water consumption in the power industry and in industry in general. As an essential condition of life, water is and will be one of the serious limiting factors in the development of the national economy. For this reason it is necessary to increase efforts not only to develop new water resources but also to make effective use of the existing ones. We have to effect a radical improvement in the fulfillment of capital investment in the water conservancy sector, particularly in building facilities to purify water that has already been used.

Comrades, in keeping with the capital investment task, the volume of construction work in Slovakia is to be increased by roughly 2.5 percent per annum. At the same time, the construction sector must ensure a considerable movement of capacities into the areas of concentrated construction--into Prague, Bratislava and the North Bohemia Region--and also improve its attitude toward foreign trade, whether this be by the export of capacities or by their replacement from imports.

It is necessary to make demanding structural changes in construction projects, particularly to make changes in favor of undertaking large power and water conservancy projects in the West Slovakia Region.

The draft of the main guidelines for development also envisages a marked strengthening of the capacities for the repair of flats and buildings, which places increased demands on the enterprises of the local economy. The party expects that the responsible managers in the construction sector will adopt a more resolute attitude toward concentrating capacities on finishing projects, that they will shorten the length of construction, that they will markedly increase quality and effectiveness, and that they will effect a substantial increase in labor productivity. This requires an improvement in the organization of labor, a strengthening of discipline, better use of working time and better manpower management.

In regard to the production of building materials, it is necessary to place emphasis on better use of production capacities, of domestic raw materials for the production of lightweight building structures, and of materials and products with higher use characteristics, especially thermal-insulation characteristics, as well as on the further industrialization of the construction processes.

The key role of the transportation industry is to meet transportation requirements in good time and effectively. A sufficient capacity of reliable transportation links with the Soviet Union is vitally important to the Czechoslovak economy. It requires an expansion of the material and technological base of all kinds of transportation, but in particular of the key capacities of rail transportation. The automation and mechanization of rail transportation must continue. Among the most important projects are the north-south rail link now under construction; the planned border transit stations, in particular the new border rail transit links between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, between Velke Kapusany and Uzhgorod; the railway marshalling yards and centers in Bratislava, Kosice, Zilina and Zvolen now under construction; and the completion of the construction of the combined highway and railroad bridge across the Danube.

In the water transportation sector we must increase the volume of goods transported and fully utilize cargo vessels and transloading facilities.

In the road transportation sector the task is to strengthen public transport over factory transportation in order to make better use of automobiles and fuel. The management in the transportation industry is required to ensure more resolutely the reliability of rail transportation by a more thorough maintenance of railway lines, in particular of the northern railway line, and of the rolling stock and other equipment. In passenger transportation it is necessary to pay greater attention to passenger amenities.

In the sphere of communications it is necessary to continue broadening and improving the quality of services, to carry on with the automation of the telephone system, to increase the range of television signals and the audibility of radio programs, to finish the construction of the relay center in Bratislava and the reconstruction of the Dubnik television transmitter and to make the radio center at Rimavska Sobota operational.

Comrades, as is apparent from various analyses, Slovakia must achieve high quality and efficiency, make more products that meet international standards, raise the value of raw materials and power and increase labor productivity more rapidly. The pressing nature of this demand is stressed by the fact that less than nine percent of the industrial production of Slovakia has received the first-class quality mark. Even the prices per kilogram of a number of our products are half or less than half of those of advanced world producers. The only alternative is to develop and use science, involve it organically and efficiently in every aspect of the building of advanced socialist society, to create increasingly better conditions for the work and development of the scientific technological basis, to set more demanding goals and to increase its share of responsibility for the final social, economic and political effect of reaching them. At the same time, the scientific workers themselves must much more energetically suggest and implement the solutions of those tasks and problems which may contribute significantly to our faster development. Basic research plays an irreplaceable role in tackling the key problems and in preparing strategic decisions. Both its cadre and material resources must be further strengthened; its efforts must be efficiently oriented toward the decisive target programs, such as, in our case, information control systems of computers, modern materials, technology of structure for microelectronics, comprehensive use of lignocellulose raw materials, making optimal ecological use of the East Slovakia lowland, innovation in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases affecting civilization. It is necessary to concentrate on more efficient use of the potentials of genetics, microbiology, physics, technical and other scientific branches which represent truly revolutionary transformations in their spheres.

Even when formulating tasks one must secure close links with applied research, implementing the results as fast as possible in social practice. The key task of both research and practice is to create efficient mutual links and to shorten significantly the period between the time of a discovery and its wide use. We have many good examples in this sphere, such as the scientific production units Vuma at Nove Mesto Nad Vahom, Vukov at Presov, the Electrotechnical Research Institute at Dubnica Nad Vahom and the slowly emerging scientific production unit of the Institute of Technological Cybernetics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

Positive experience must be disseminated; faster, flexible forms of combination of scientific-technological, project and construction and implementation capacities must be developed. Such possibilities must be sought and created also in the interest of the use of the considerable creative potential of universities. We are correct in trying to focus scientific and technological efforts on the decisive tasks and problems, but our scientific research potential, in view of the wide variety and the desirable fast rates of innovations, cannot alone secure the highest level of final results. That is why we must even more efficiently link our forces with institutes in the Czech Socialist Republic and more markedly increase cooperation with the countries of CEMA, above all with the Soviet Union. The experiences of the interkosmos program, the Nitra Research Institute of Animal Production and the development of some engineering production lines in Slovakia unequivocally show that cooperation and integration benefit all the partners and enable us in Slovakia to achieve and maintain world standards in science, above all in the results of its implementation.

By promoting both domestic and international integration in science and research as well as in production, we will ensure significant progress in the production and deployment of robots, manipulators, the most up-to-date computers, unipolar integrated circuits, progressive machines and apparatus and the necessary products of applied chemistry. For the innovation and modernization of products and technologies it is essential to make more effective use of licenses, in particular from the Soviet Union or other CEMA countries. In purchasing licenses from the capitalist countries it is necessary to coordinate the purchase with the Soviet Union and other interested CEMA countries. With this intention in mind, it is necessary to improve the comprehensive management of the development and use of science. Above all, it is necessary to have the sciences form a main springboard, the axis and methods of plans at all levels, above all of the 5-year national economic plans. The general directorates, ministries, the Slovak Academy of Sciences and primarily the Ministry of Construction and Technology and the Slovak Planning Commission have the principal responsibility for achieving this.

One way of achieving scientific and technological development is through capital investment. The draft of the Main Guidelines for economic and social development stresses that the capital investment program for the period 1981-85 tackles the most urgent needs of national economic development with maximum effectiveness. The level of investments in the period 1982-85 must not exceed this year's level. For this reason it is necessary to direct investment, wherever possible, to achieve rapid and effective development of science and technology and to promote resolutely a course toward modernization and reconstruction of production assets. It is also necessary to carry out modernization primarily in those areas where the outcome will be products reaching international standards and technologies that will secure a marked growth of labor productivity, the conservation of fuels, energy and raw materials and in plants with a high degree of specialization and cooperation that are ensuring the fulfillment of integrational agreements and that are making a great export contribution.

Priority must be given to investment directed toward the realization of the state target programs: Investment in land to meet the requirements of both the domestic and foreign markets and the creation and protection of the living environment. Work and deliveries must be concentrated on rapidly completing construction projects rather than on starting them.

Today, the socially tolerable and acceptable concept is that which is based on better use of existing basic assets, which by modernization and reconstruction secures production at a high technical and economic level, rather than that which is based on promoting the largest share of production investment. The leading official who is performing his party or state function in keeping with the interests of the party and society is the one who is purposefully and responsibly increasing the use of assets, strengthening planning and work discipline and ensuring society-wide priorities, rather than the one who is devoting his energy to demanding the highest possible investment limit. In this respect we expect the full support of the territorial party bodies and primary party organizations.

The government, national committees and other state and economic bodies must make a much stricter decision concerning individual investment intentions and guide investments, project and supply organizations to ensure that the transition to intensive development is manifested more markedly not only in the blueprints but also in the implementation of investment activities.

Esteemed comrades! In the course of socialist construction we have done a great deal of work, in deploying the production forces. During the seventh 5-year plan period we shall make a progress in the proportional economic and social development of individual regions and districts.

The basic task in the further development of the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Bratislava, will be to strengthen it industrially, above all as regards the engineering industry, and to increase the proportion of the working class in the total population. This has been supported by the results of last year's census, which show that Bratislava had the greatest population increase in the last 10 years among all the regions of the republic. At the same time it is necessary to increase the proportion of products that meet top technological and economic specifications. It is necessary to more energetically eliminate shortcomings in the technological and civic amenities of housing estates, to improve the communication network and urban mass transport and to make good preparations for the construction of the rapid transit system. The expansion of the retail network and health facilities will continue, construction in the city center will be realized more purposefully and the planned ecological measures will be implemented. At the same time it is necessary to meet the construction plans on those projects which are connected with meeting the needs of the specialized activities in all Slovakia. It is necessary to complete and utilize the city's socio-economic development plan.

In the West Slovak Region we shall develop and build those branches of the national economy that are the bearers of technological progress and will make a more significant contribution to achieving better economic results. These include, above all, micro-electronics, pharmaceuticals, agricultural chemicals, engineering and others. As I have already said in another part of this report, it is necessary to pay attention to the construction of water projects and the nuclear power stations at Jaslovske Bohunice and Mochovce.

The West Slovak Region will continue to be an area of agricultural priority. In this respect the region faces the demanding tasks of improving the land fund, utilizing and constructing irrigation systems--above all in the Danube Region and Zahorie--and continuing to raise the production of grains--especially corn--sugar beet, legumes, oil plants and vegetables. Animal production must be made more effective, while at the same time rational use of fodder is ensured, and cattle breeding must increase.

In the Central Slovak Region attention must be concentrated on completing and commissioning the cellulose-pulp combine at Ruzomberok. Great attention will have to be paid to the development and quality fulfillment of tasks in the production of computer technology, electronic telephone exchanges, high-performance electronics, color television sets, and in the engineering and the timber-processing industry. In all these branches the region makes a considerable contribution to the all-Slovak performance. In agriculture it is necessary to increase the production of potatoes, to ensure the development of cattle breeding and sheep on the basis of better use of areas permanently planted in grass. In some localities, above all Ziar and Hronom and in the Prievidza District, it is necessary to pay attention to the elimination of affluent and a general improvement of the environment.

In the East Slovak Region it is necessary to create better conditions for the use of the increased labor force through better utilization of existing capacities, as well as conditions for broadening suitable labor opportunities. It is necessary to develop still more energetically automation, engineering and the chemical industry, especially the quality of manmade fibers. More attention must be paid to raising the quality of metallurgical products and to increase effectiveness in the East Slovak iron works.

In order to improve soil fertility in the East Slovak lowlands it is necessary to continue the water-management and improvement projects that have already begun. In connection with this it is necessary to ensure a more pronounced development of plant and animal production. Attention must be concentrated on grains--above all on corn--potatoes, legumes and bulk fodder. In animal production the total utility of the herds must be increased and a substantial growth of the numbers of agricultural animals, especially cattle, must be ensured.

In selected districts of southern Slovakia it is necessary to continue diversifying the industrial structure, which will help, and to strengthen the stability of the population.

Securing uniform supplies of raw materials and products for personal, social and productive consumption for our national economy depends to a great degree on the extent and effectiveness of our foreign trade. In this 5-year plan enterprises and organizations in Slovakia have been tasked with increasing their share in the state-wide volume of exports. We must fulfill this task consistently. For this reason it is necessary to seek and master with great initiative such products and operations as can be effectively exported. We are not interested in exports of just any kind. In the interest of raising the export performance of our production-economic units and enterprises, we must raise within a short period above all the quality of our products and achieve international standards more quickly. We must step up innovation and keep pace with world development. In the structure of our exports we must increase the share of products that demand few raw materials and production materials, but which embody a great amount of skilled labor, science and art.

Our export performance is also directly linked with securing raw materials for our national economy. We have a big advantage in the fact that we are importing a critical portion of the raw materials from the Soviet Union at prices which were, and remain in the current 5-year plan, substantially lower than those that apply in the nonsocialist countries.

Experience shows that we cannot ensure the long-term effectiveness of our foreign trade relations merely by our traditional exports and imports. We can achieve it only by more rapid development of cooperation and integration. Proceeding from objective conditions, it is necessary to orient ourselves much more resolutely toward cooperation and specialization with the Soviet Union and, in the current 5-year plan, to achieve a marked increase of their share.

The long-term program for cooperation and specialization with the Soviet Union and the task stressed by the Main Guidelines of establishing direct contacts between our production economic units and enterprises and their partners in the CEMA, in particular in the Soviet Union, create good conditions for fulfilling this task. We call on the communists in the government, in the individual ministries but chiefly in the general directorates in Slovakia to make an even deeper analysis of the objective means and possibilities, to come up with their own proposals for mutually advantageous cooperation and integration both in the preproduction stages and in production itself. Whether we shall fulfill the task we have set for ourselves and whether we shall achieve a radical improvement in quality and effectiveness as well as in cooperation and integration depend above all on the actions of individuals and the quality of management.

The new tasks that we are setting for ourselves and the very demanding conditions for their realization show unequivocally, as Comrade Husak stressed at the district party conference in Kladno, that it is no longer possible to manage and plan in the old-fashioned way. This is why the current 5-year plan in Slovakia must be a 5-year plan of qualitative improvement in the effectiveness of management. We must make much greater use of the opportunities offered by social ownership, the common interest of producers in achieving the best possible final national economic results. By improving links and relations between enterprises and production-economic units we must contribute to raising the effectiveness of productive assets, making better use of the skills and creativity of the working people. By skillful and creative management work it is necessary to reorient the activity of leading officials and functionaries from the extensive to the intensive utilization of resources and potential, to the determined pursuit of high quality in all work. It is essential to act in this spirit because the new rules and procedures, rules and procedures that are embodied in the set of measures, will be operating mercilessly. It is necessary to master them completely and to apply them creatively and exactingly.

In the interest of improving planning we in Slovakia must also make better use of the target program approach, in order to implement more rapidly the latest results of the theory of management, mathematics, cybernetics, sociology, psychology and other scientific disciplines. We want to and we must draw more efficiently from the results achieved in these spheres by the best Soviet scientific institutes in Moscow, Kiev and in other centers of science. Using the scientific approach we must assess the work of planners and of those implementing the plans according to final results, according to the contributions to total social development. Our rate of progress depends largely on how we are able to apply socialist merits, on self-evaluation. We should have more significant awards for outstanding results, for quality and effectiveness, for contributions to the creation of national income. We should have more consistent penalties for low-quality work and below-average results. We oppose income that is not based on actual work or that comes from speculative deals, but we are unequivocally for better awards for better work. That is also why every management link, every management worker, ranging from minister to foreman, must assess more strictly the actual results in his labor collective, compare them with the plan, with the objective needs and possibilities, and with those results achieved by the best producers at home and abroad.

Both our experience and that of the fraternal countries unequivocally show that improvement of management is inseparably linked with increasing the participation of the working people, with the growth of their creative initiative. Those forms and approaches that aim for high quality and effectiveness of final results are involved above all. Extensive possibilities are provided by better planning, efficient production meetings, correctly oriented and better exploited creativity of improvers and innovators and initiatives of complex rationalization brigades, as well as socialist labor brigades. The experience of joint socialist pledges for rapid and high-quality completion of investment projects is inspiring. Among these, the example of the labor collective that reconstructed, modernized and in fact rebuilt the second furnace in the East Slovak metallurgical works in the record time of 115 days truly deserves to be followed.

Recently there have been new initiatives to conclude joint socialist pledges for the high quality and effectiveness of the final product. These new and highly positive experiences must be used more boldly and implemented much more widely.

Comrades, the coming period of concrete implementation of the content of the main directives for economic and social development in the Seventh 5-Year Plan will also no doubt be demanding in testing the political and professional preparedness of our management cadres. We will ask them to stand in the forefront in implementing the strategic line, as well as in implementing the progressive forms and methods of management. They will have to be able to mobilize people, to raise their enthusiasm by setting their own example, but also to learn from them. This is one of the important revolutionary tasks in the work of a management worker. It is necessary in management work to pay more attention to analyses and prognoses, to the quality of plans, while at the same time increasing the efficiency of organizational work and direct planning, to improve motivation and stimulation. If we are able to explain correctly to the working people the direct connection between the quality and effectiveness of their work, the economic results and the growth of the standard of living, the social development of labor collectives and territorial units, we will win them over for coping with the social and economic tasks that were set by the 16th congress of our party.

Comrades! One of the main aims of the construction of a socialist society is the all-around development of man's personality, creative thought and behavior. This development is linked inseparably with shaping the socialist way of life and is a source of our society's further progress. We must pay due regard to the objective dialectics of the development of man and socialist society, not only in the ideological sphere but also in economic and social development.

The principal factors of the socialist way of life are becoming anchored more and more in the consciousness and behavior of the working people and youth in Slovakia. The construction of advanced socialism, however, demands that the new way of life be broadened and deepened. The intensive development of production forces, the intensification of socialist social relations and the rising educational and cultural level of the population are generating enforcing changes in the whole way of life, in the content and the character of labor, in the interests, needs, values, in the quality, quantity, forms and importance of social intercourse and in the way leisure time is used. It is necessary to analyze systematically these transformations, to evaluate and direct them purposefully.

A key role in the development of the socialist way of life is the deepening of the conscious attitude to work. The problem is to ensure that work in general is not only more and more productive but also more interesting and more creative. The growing pace of the scientific and technological revolution and its link with socialist social relations is creating the best conditions for this. And it is the innovative work of collectives and individuals in our regions, districts, enterprises, socialist labor brigades, innovators and inventors that give great stimulus to transforming man's attitude to labor and to raising its quality and effectiveness.

In contrast to the capitalist system, where the pursuit of the profit and unbridled individualism are dominant, in socialist society an ever-growing role is played by collectivism and its champions, especially the labor collectives. These are principal cells that play an important role in the creation of harmony between individual, group and social interests, in deepening collective feelings and consciousness, in creating new relations between people as well as in stimulating their work and social activity. This is why we regard it as necessary that our party organizations and leading economic workers devote their concentrated attention to this problem in the interest of raising the influence and status of labor collectives in the key areas of the struggle for social, scientific and technological progress, to ensure that their participation in planning, stimulation and control, in the economic and social development of their workplaces and residences is deepened.

It is the duty of trade union officials to work for well thought-out social programs for individual workplaces and to ensure that collective agreements play a more active role in raising the quality and effectiveness of labor, improving working conditions, increasing qualifications, improving work safety, and creating conditions for recreation and rest for the working people.

The struggle for an advanced socialist society comprises the shaping of a harmoniously developed structure to meet the material and cultural needs of the working people. Coming into the fore more and more are rational views and qualitative standards in the development and satisfaction of needs. At the same time, we must realize today that in the long-term those needs that are connected with the cultivation of man's creative forces, with his work and other social activity will acquire greater importance.

As communists, we definitely oppose obsession with and pointless accumulation of material goods, the bourgeois psychology of conspicuous consumption. We act purposefully and systematically against a development in which things would take priority over people. However, we are by no means puritans, we favor a joyful and happy life for the people. For this reason, we make it another goal for the forthcoming period to secure the living standards achieved and further raise the quality of all areas that satisfy the needs of our people. We are justified in demanding that production organizations, together with trade organizations try to better meet the needs of the people with better quality and more advanced products of higher utility and aesthetic character, including those products which make possible the more active and purposeful use of free time. However, the question of quality cannot be applied only in the case of fashionable or luxury products but also in the case of goods sold at lower prices, which must not disappear from the retail network.

One of the basic prerequisites of health--good physical and mental condition of the people--is, as proved by science, rational nutrition. In this light, certain changes in our eating habits are desirable. Above all, scientifically recommended caloric values for various groups of working people must be observed and the contribution of biologically more valuable foodstuffs must be increased. Among other things we must substantially increase the consumption of fruit and vegetables. We have the prerequisites for this. It is up to the departments of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, up to the retail network and responsible workers in catering establishments to see that these prerequisites are better utilized. We anticipate, naturally, that in this respect the appropriate work will also be done by health propaganda.

As regards services for the people, responsible workers in local economic enterprises and in production cooperatives must show more initiative above all in improving the quality of the services making household duties easier. They must develop services ensuring repairs of durable consumer goods and services for motorists. We should more energetically overcome shortcomings in this sphere; alas, there are enough of them. It would certainly be a good thing if, in order to ensure services, repairs and peripheral production, the labor of old-age pensioners were more effectively utilized.

During the years of socialist construction we have achieved great progress in solving the housing problem. In the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, too, we want to build 11,000 more flats. We will put emphasis on the cooperative method of construction which will contribute to the stabilization of the labor force while the financial interests of enterprises will continue to assert themselves. Technological and civic amenities are to grow by about 30 percent. This creates the conditions for overcoming the serious weaknesses which persist in the completion of comprehensive equipment of many housing estates. We urgently emphasize that we deem this to be an important political role of the national committees and building organizations. We must make sure that the housing estates function and grow as a homeogenous social organism able to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people, and have a positive influence on relations in the collectives of citizens.

Caring for the health of the people is one of the most important tasks of society and in the next period, too, we shall therefore put emphasis above all on preventive health measures, on the prevention of illnesses and on improving hygiene in all spheres. We must continue with even more determination in the implementation of the cardiovascular, oncological and gerontological programs. To achieve this it is necessary to deepen cooperation with the Ministry of Health of the Czech Socialist Republic and its institutions, and to utilize even more fully the scientific findings and experiences of the Soviet health service. We shall further broaden the basic network of medical facilities. We anticipate an accelerated completion of unfinished hospitals, and the preparation of the construction of more hospitals, a particularly pressing need in Bratislava. In this 5-year plan, the completion of projects that have already begun will increase capacity by a further 4,500 beds and the number of doctors will increase by more than 1,700. The care for the children of working mothers will also be deepened through an increase of more than 20 per cent in the number of places in creches and the standards of treatment of old and chronically sick people will also be improved.

Because it is a very sensitive area in the lives of our people, health care is given a prominent place in party activity. We are convinced that all the honest and courageous workers in the areas of health care will see to it that the vast means allocated by the society for the protection of the health of citizens are used in the best possible way and that they themselves constantly improve the quality of their work, raise their professional level and implement socialist ethics in health care.

Another of the basic prerequisites of health and good physical and psychological condition is regular exercise. We have to cultivate habits and create conditions for the development of individual and group physical exercise both at workplaces and during spare time. The Czechoslovak Spartakiad has again pointed to the broad possibilities of the mass development of physical education and sports. We expect that physical education organizations will use the experience of preparing for the Spartakiad for developing the interest of the citizens in consistent physical activity. We consider significant tasks the all-round care of physically talented young people and the bearing in mind of the need for a faster increase in the quality of competitive and top-level sport. Among other things, this in the interest of greater participation by sportsmen from the Slovak Socialist Republic in national representations.

There is also room for improvement in physical education and in education by sports clubs. The criterion of its effectiveness must be results, but the attitude and activities of a sportsman as a member of our socialist society is also a factor.

Esteemed comrades, we have recently begun to make significant qualitative changes in our socialist education, in improving the educational system. The socialist character of education has deepened. We have recorded remarkable progress in developing the material-technical foundation of education. Over 5,000 classrooms in basic and secondary schools and over 1,000 classrooms in apprentice institutes have been turned over for use. Likewise, the classroom situation has improved in respect to universities. Thanks to the active participation of citizens, we have overfulfilled by 7 percent the congress guideline on schooling children at nursery schools. We assess highly the work of our teachers and educational organs, and we support their effort to make educational activity correspond to the growing demands of the current and the coming stages of the development of our society. What is involved is for schools, with the participation of families, the youth organization and the whole of society, to educate pupils and students as hard working people, good patriots and internationalists, and genuine citizens of the republic who are convinced of our truth and have respect for the values created by the previous generations. What is also involved is for schools to arm pupils and students with knowledge which reflects the latest results of scientific research, to develop their abilities and habits to think creatively, and to implement theoretical knowledge in practice. In the interest of doing this we must improve forms and methods of teaching, organize educational work in a better way, and create better personnel and material-technological conditions for it. The quality of work of every school has to be assessed according to how its graduates master and implement the latest knowledge in practice and to show they are able to cope with the demanding tasks of the present as well as of the future. The overburdening of pupils and students, often and justifiably mentioned by pedagogic experts and parents, is to be avoided by increasing the quality of the teaching-learning process.

In view of the structural changes in our economy and the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, we also regard the development of young people's interest in skilled professions in technology, mathematics, natural sciences and scientific and research work as a priority role of the school in the coming period.

At the centre of our attention must be the raising of the ideological, political and technical training of the new generation of workers so as to ensure that it masters modern technique and technology, that is capable of producing products of the highest possible quality and that it assumes with a feeling of pride and responsibility its role in building advanced socialism.

Institutions of higher education in Slovakia recorded further growth in the past period. Today, they are facing the urgent task of becoming important centers for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, making readily available to students and society the latest results of the scientific and technological revolution. In the interest of doing this task they must open channels of communication with scientific centers throughout the world and particularly in the Soviet Union.

We regard as principal tasks the stricter delineation of the requirements for college educated specialists in the individual branches and the implementation of measures for the successful application of graduates from institutions of higher learning in keeping with their specialist qualification.

Once again we reiterate that a key role in the improvement of school work belongs to the teacher. A permanent part of the work of party and state bodies is concern for his ideological and political maturity, specialist training, high degree of teaching skill, moral profile and working and social conditions. It is necessary to pay special attention to selecting and training teachers, educators and masters of technical training for middle-technical training centers and for all types of schools training the new generation of skilled workers.

In the interests of further developing the material and technological foundation of the educational system, we must fulfill the capital investment plans more consistently. The growing demands on the educational and rearing activity of the school system call for an increase in the effectiveness of its management. It is necessary to fight consistently against formalism, unnecessary paper work and authoritarianism and to improve truly the quality and effectiveness of the work of the school.

Comrades: An important role in the shaping of the spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and in the molding of a new man is played by our cultural workers, by our literature and arts. The leading role of the party was strengthened on the cultural front, the socialist character of culture was deepened and the exponents of revisionist and bourgeois trends in culture were defeated after the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. At the congresses of its creative unions, the artistic front subscribed to the methods of socialist realism, which individual creative artists are developing with more or less success in actual works of art.

On the whole it can be said that in the past 5 years the arts in Slovakia have recorded in addition to a few defeats, and understandably, a considerable amount of average output, a number of outstanding victories. These applies to novels.

Readers have been given a number of artistically convincing work of prose, including works of the type called a large novel and of which there is not an abundance in any period and in any literature. It will surely be beneficial when this undoubted moral and artistic capital yields dividends, when Slovak prose continues in this successful trend by providing an even braver depiction of current problems, seeking and depicting the true positive hero of our days.

Undoubted successes were also achieved in children's literature not only at home but also abroad. An expansion of translated works was also recorded and here Soviet literature occupies a dominant position.

Significant successes also have been achieved in the creative arts, especially in sculpture and the graphic arts, but also in some types of music and the performing arts. In recent years we have missed powerful original drama. This is understandable in light of the previous development of this type of dramatic activity. However, we must not accept this as a permanent feature. In the period since the 15th congress and since the congresses of the creative unions, Slovak art has visibly matured, deepened its understanding of the operative problems, and addressed our contemporaries in a clear, true and popular language.

However, this does not mean that it should not set itself still higher tasks. On the contrary, we are convinced that, in keeping with the all-around development of society, our artists will try to achieve a deeper and truer vision, a closer link with the problems of our time and a more brilliant artistic expression. In a word, they will achieve that which sets a new standard in art.

There is another aspect of the development of culture: the close links and mutual interaction between the Czech and Slovak national cultures, including the cultures of the nationalities living in our country who have been developing as an organic part of our socialist culture. The internationalist bonds with the cultures of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the socialist community have been strengthened, and through their creative stimuli they have enriched the cultural front and our entire life. A special role was played in this respect by the Days of Soviet Culture in Czechoslovakia and the Days of Czechoslovak Culture held in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

In emphasizing the positive aspects of the development of culture in Slovakia, we do not ignore the fact that we have also seen the creation of mediocre works dealing with peripheral themes; of films, books, songs and pictures of poor artistic quality; and of unimaginative and pedestrian works superficially depicting our socialist present. Nor are we blind to the fact that there are among some members of the younger generation and especially in the sphere of the visual arts tendencies towards artistic experimentation for its own sake which are contradicting the method of socialist realism. In its own specific way, art has the power to capture our socialist reality and to contribute to the shaping of the people's awareness of the correctness of our ideas and goals. So, at a time when we are struggling to fulfill higher goals, to achieve a new quality and to cultivate interpersonal relations, and at a time when the role of the subject is growing, well, at a time like this we expect that artists will present to their readers, listeners or viewers the true picture of our socialist reality and that they will depict convincingly the multifaceted life and domestic existence of our contemporaries. We agree that talent is a part of the wealth of our culture and society, but in order truly to develop a talent and really and fully to achieve artistic mastery, it is important that the artist is politically mature and ideologically equipped with the scientific world outlook, with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. In an effort to achieve this sort of orientation, which is the prerequisite for true quality in creative work, we want to and will help the cultural front, primarily the younger generation, in all ways.

The development of the arts and literature requires purposeful and conceptual work in the sphere of the science of art and in literary and art criticism. Now, in particular, when in all spheres we are struggling for new values, art criticism should direct the creative front towards new qualities of development, and in this respect it should make esthetic criteria topical and strictly implement these criteria.

In the impact of our mass communication media, as well as in other forms of cultural recreational activity, various forms of entertainment have an important place. That is why we stress the demand that entertainment programs of mass significance also possess high ideological content, artistic quality and, in accordance with the socialist way of life, influence the aesthetic feeling and taste of today's man. We will also cultivate a rich cultural life for the working people in the future. We want the culture of work to improve; we ask for general improvement in work and living environments, as well as improvement in the general aesthetic level of our lives. The activities of the national committees, trade unions, the youth union, the union of women and economic organizations must be united in achieving this aim. Attention must be focused on the development of all forms of cultural work; on improving the utilization of books and contacts with readers; on supporting the meritorious efforts of the creative workers, performing artists and collectives of leisure art activities which make accessible the inexhaustible sources and values of our folk art. Cultural activity must be varied, attractive and socialist in content. We have a richly developed network of libraries, houses of culture, clubs and other amenities. What will be involved, however, is their better use for the aims which they are to serve.

Our country is rich in cultural monuments and natural beauties. The organs of the CPSL and the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic have been paying the appropriate attention to preserving and protecting them.

In practice, however, this task is often underestimated. The party and state organs in districts and in regions must improve their activity in this sphere. A principled significance is being assigned to the process of mutual contacts and mutual enrichment of the cultures of our two fraternal peoples--the Czechs and the Slovaks--as well as to cultivating the cultural lives of the citizens of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationalities. We will continue to give all around support to cultivating these trends. Equally, we will support the further development of cooperation between Slovak culture and the culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as deepening the contribution of our art and culture to the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of peoples. We are firmly convinced that the representatives of the cultural front realize that art and culture represent a powerful force in the socialist education of people, that they are and will be a part of the ideological struggle, that they will give their knowledge and talent to the service of the immortal ideas of communism. We are firmly convinced that they will contribute by new creative acts to forming the spiritual life of advanced socialist society in our homeland.

Esteemed comrades, in the period of building advanced socialist society, economic improvement is more and more closely linked with the social, political and cultural development of society. That is why the issues of social and class structure of the society, of our state and democratic nature, have continually been the focus of attention of the communist party. We have exerted considerable effort to better aid the process which, under the conditions of socialism, has the objective character of eliminating borders between classes and social groups. The marked result of this effort is the continuing increase of the role of the working class in the life of our society. During the seventies, its ranks continued to rise, as did its share in controlling production and state administration. The working class acquired and is acquiring higher political consciousness, education and professional qualifications. The growth of its role is likewise connected with the changes in the character of work of the present-day worker, work acquiring an increasingly intellectual content.

Profound changes are also occurring in the cooperative farmer's way of life. The industrialization of agriculture, qualitative changes in working conditions, the growth of qualification of farmers are helping to erase the differences between industry and agriculture, between the town and the village. This acts as an important factor in influencing the process of drawing together cooperative farmers and the working class.

In building an advanced socialist society, the responsibility of the technical intelligentsia is also growing more and more here in Slovakia. The task of linking the advantages of the socialist social order with the gains of scientific and technological revolution is placing unprecedentedly higher demands on the intelligentsia today, both in its specialist capacity and in the moral-political sense. The drawing together of the classes and social groups in keeping with the historical mission of the working class is a complicated, long-term, multifaceted dialectic process. It demands that party and state policy pay attention to both the common interests of the classes and groups and the peculiarities and specific interests of each social group.

Fulfilling the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, we focused our attention on the questions of socialist democracy. Also here in Slovakia it has been shown that new tasks, new problems and needs of life establish a demand to further develop and use more fruitfully the activity and initiative of the broad strata of our population. We realize more and more that without the creative and conscious participation of the working people we shall not build an advanced socialist society. For this reason it is an important task of our party and state bodies to expand purposefully the participation of the citizens in the administration of the state and social affairs, to increase the effectiveness of the work of all the organizations of the National Front and to improve the state mechanism.

In keeping with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress we have endeavored to make use of the advantages and possibilities of the federative nature of the state. Resting on the experiences from the past years we will continue to make use of them in the interests of the development of our nations and nationalities, the strengthening of their unity for the benefit of our common CSSR.

In the process of the further intensification of socialist democracy it was the activity of our representative bodies that was developed above all. The Slovak National Council contributed and is contributing with greater effectiveness to the solution of the basic political, economic, social and cultural questions. During its own legislative activity it intensified its cooperation with other state bodies, the National Committees, and the National Front organizations. The methods of work of both the bodies and deputies of the Slovak National Council were also improved. The Council displayed an appropriate initiative and joint participation also in the shaping of norms of international importance. A turn in the quality and effectiveness of all work, however, demands that the Slovak National Council also improve the quality of its legislative and control activity in keeping with the new requirements. This concerns the work of its bodies and the individual deputies within the framework of the Slovak National Council as well as among the voters in individual constituencies.

To the fore of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government's attention was a more rational utilization of resources and possibilities in the branches managed by the government in the interest of achieving a higher share by Slovakia in the creation of resources of the Czechoslovak economy. The task of achieving a marked progress in the enhancement of effectiveness and quality made and will continue to make an ever higher demand on the conceptual work of the government and its bodies, on its decisionmaking activity and the consistent control of the fulfillment of the measures adopted. From the government we expect that it will unite more effectively its individual governmental branches in the more consistent pursuit of the interests of society as a whole.

In connection with scientific and technological progress, the package of measures to improve management and to intensify international integration, it has been proved inevitable that the government should push through more purposefully the improvement in the methods and style of its work in the interest of improving the effectiveness of the ministries and other central offices and the apparatus of the National Committees. This also requires systematic concern for the political and technical growth of its staff and for the improvement of its specialization structure.

In the last period the position of the National Committees of all kinds was further strengthened. A great amount of work was accomplished and great values created as a result of the fulfillment of the 5-year plans, the election programs with the active participation of citizens. In the future period, as throughout the national economy, it is necessary to focus also in the National Committees on higher quality and effectiveness of work while harmoniously developing towns and villages. The issue is that of the quality of services provided, the deployment and functioning of the stores network and public transport. As for the whole of the national economy, the demand of adding greater value to raw materials and energy, of higher utilization of fixed assets and of achieving economies in all spheres of all their operations also applies to the National Committees.

The extensive jurisdiction of the National Committees must be reflected also in an effective utilization of budget funds in the sphere of education, the health service, social care and culture. Let us point out that the National Committees are obliged to increase the attention they pay to the comprehensive nature of housing construction, to the quality of apartments and--this is an increasingly urgent task--to the timely maintenance of the housing fund, especially through the use of enterprises of the local economy. We are talking not only of the maintenance of communal but also that of cooperative apartments.

In the next period it will be necessary also to utilize the experiences from "Action" [campaign to improve appearance of towns and villages] and this action must be still more concentrated on the mobilization and utilization of local resources and on the possibilities of constructing amenities beneficial to the public and good for the appearance of our towns and villages.

In keeping with the endeavor for developing socialist awareness and the socialist way of life of the citizens, it is necessary to deepen more significantly the cultural-educational influence of the national committees. It is necessary to develop socialist democracy, to raise the impact and improve the activity of the plenary sessions, councils and commissions of the national committees, to introduce direct contacts between deputies and citizens, cooperation between the national committees and social organizations and collectives of the working people. It is also necessary to work better with the aktivs of the national committees in which more than 170,000 citizens are active. Also required is a substantial improvement in the mass-political work of the national committees, especially in new housing estates and in those in Bratislava particularly.

In 1981 we will again vote representatives to the representative bodies. The new bodies which will be created thus will assume great responsibility for the further development of society, for the education of the new man, for the further deepening of socialist democracy. For this reason, we here in Slovakia, and our National Front, face the task of preparing very responsibly the general elections through the selection of candidates, the preparation of the electoral programs and the whole preelection campaign. In the interest of a higher effectiveness of the work of the national committees it is necessary to increase the political maturity, qualifications and professional standards of their executive apparatus. We emphasize that the functionaries must show a responsible attitude to public interests, they must approach sensitively and carefully the solving of the justified demands and critical points of citizens. They must not bypass sore points but must consistently eliminate elements of formalism and bureaucracy in contacts with the public. The development of socialist democracy presupposes and requires the strengthening of people's control as a part of the state apparatus and important tool of the protection and implementation of the interests of society. In order to increase its effectiveness it is necessary to broaden and deepen the participation of the working people in control activity.

The Czechoslovak People's Army guards the peaceful work of our people. The army honorably fulfills the tasks defined by the joint defense of socialism within the Warsaw Pact.

We are pleased to note that the units of the eastern military area, military schools and other units of the army, the Border Guards and civil defense deployed in Slovakia, are also fulfilling the tasks laid down by the resolution of the 15th CPCZ Congress and are achieving good results in combat and political preparedness, and closely cooperate with units of the Soviet Army. We praise the fact that our armed forces, apart from fulfilling their chief task of ensuring high combat readiness, also effectively help our national economy and act as the school not only of the defenders but also of the builders of socialism.

In keeping with the defense policy of the CPCZ we shall continue to ensure that the unified system of civil defense education of the population further successfully asserts itself.

Many positive results have been achieved in the realization of the legal and security policy, in the protection of our socialist social system, in the protection of socialist ownership, and in ensuring public order, security and safety of the citizens and their property rights. A significant contribution to this has been made by the members of the national security corps and the workers of the prosecution, the judiciary, the legal profession, and--we can add--also the fire departments.

The party was asked and will continue consistently to ask that the implementation, respecting of and adherence to our laws be the task not only of the state organs, but also of the whole of society and every citizen. It will insist on securing, by this joint effort, strict adherence to socialist legality. It is in the interest of these aims that we must also improve legal education and legal propaganda.

The successes achieved in implementing the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress are significantly due to the National Front as an expression of the unity of the Communists, members of other political parties and non-party people. We respect and highly assess the meritorious work of the Slovak Revival Party and the Freedom Party--our faithful partners in the National Front--and their active part in creating and implementing the policy of the state. And we are firmly convinced that our further cooperation will also bring progress in the struggle for a new society.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has an important share in strengthening the power of the working class and the working people, in deepening unity, in developing socialist democracy. The work of active trade union officials, whose attitude in fulfilling economic and social programs reflects a high degree of class consciousness and political involvement, is highly meritorious. The demanding character of the current period calls for further deepening the mission of the movement in tackling the tasks of economic and social progress, for strengthening its coresponsibility for the tasks of the entire society, for increasing work efficiency and quality in the national economy as a whole.

This the only way of fulfilling their top-priority tasks in implementing the laws and catering for the justified interests of the working people. The task and coresponsibility of the trade unions in implementing the Set of Measures are exceptionally great. We have already stressed that working people's active participation as well as their creative initiative in debating and fulfilling plans must find a more profound reflection in augmented planning and in the effectuality of production meetings. The trade union organs must bear this in mind and must direct the initiative of working people, the movement of the teams of socialist labour, mixed rationalization brigades, the efforts of improvers and innovators much more consistently toward efficiency and quality, toward implementing scientific and technological progress, saving raw materials, power and other materials and toward labor discipline. The trade union organizations must be more insistent in demanding from the economic leadership better quality of labor organization, rhythm of their activity, as well as the constant care of social needs. This is the basic condition for fulfilling the planned tasks.

Despite certain progress in protection and safety at work, in expanding and improving enterprise catering, it continues to be necessary to consider these sectors in a large number of workplaces as inadequate and lagging behind. Improvement ought to be apparent in the content and fulfillment of collective agreements; the entire educational work of trade unions must be better directed toward creating comradely relations in collectives, in creating an atmosphere of higher demands, against shortcomings and malpractices, and for socialist discipline, for full utilization of working time, for an honest, truly worker-like trade union relation to work.

In the resolution of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress, particular attention was paid to our young people. We respect the activity of young people, boys and girls, carried out at places of work, schools and in political and public life. We also highly assess the effort of the youth organization in educating young people in patriotism, proletarian internationalism, for the defense of socialism and peace. The movement of the Socialist Union of Youth for implementing scientific and technological progress, the excellent results of youth collectives, as well as youth union actions for better results in education, are considered an important contribution.

The youth union organs and organizations, however, must pay more attention particularly to the young generation of workers and direct the activity and initiative of young people toward the most important tasks, leading young people along the path of improving professional skills, encouraging their healthy ambition and developing their cultural standards and physical fitness.

It is necessary to implement more strictly demands to the effect that youth organizations develop their activity through more lively, attractive and multifaceted forms, not only among their members but also among young people in general. We praise the work of Pioneer leaders and other workers who enrich the work of the Socialist Union of Youth and the Pioneer organization with new findings, with joy, optimism, and thus help to create in the children the noblest traits. The education of the young generation is also a matter for the Czechoslovak Union for Cooperation With the Army whose educational activity is connected with the mastering of the technological preparation of youth for the defense of our country. Our thanks must also go to the hundreds and thousands of the members of the Slovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, former partisans, then illegal anti-Fascist workers, who with love and zeal pass on to the young generation the message of the national liberation struggle, especially the Slovak national uprising; they teach the young people to guard the unity of our nations, their progressive socialist orientation and the great internationalist fraternity with the nations of the Soviet Union.

From this platform we appeal to our young generation: Boys and girls, we want to remind you that it is the purpose of our endeavor that you are educated, healthy and happy, full of optimism, that you are able to appreciate justice and beauty. We trust you and we are convinced that you will continue the work of your fathers and mothers, that for your own happiness you will find in our goals your life interest and the substance of relations with the older generation. Now you are already able to develop your personality and mutual relations in such a way that they are worthy of the world of mature socialism, a world without hunger, oppression and wars, a world of human happiness and permanent peace.

We highly praise the work of our women and their active participation in public life and their initiative in the Slovak Union of Women. We will ensure that the economic bodies, the National Committee and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement still more determinedly improve the working and other living conditions of women, so that they are able, in keeping with today's standards, to fulfill the irreplaceable mission of the mother and guardian, that they are also able to participate even more in public life.

The organization of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, uniting in Slovakia almost 1 million members, has done and is doing meritorious work in the strengthening of fraternal relations between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The large membership of the organization, the results of its activity, and its experiences create prerequisites for the society's still more successful fulfillment of its purpose in the next period.

We also wish to praise the good work of other social and specialist activities of the National Front, the Union of Cooperative Farmers, the Red Cross and others, whose everyday activity fulfills our program targets. The development of socialist democracy and the role of the National Front require that the work of communists in all its organizations is being developed all the time so that the connection between the party and the masses is ever stronger.

Dear comrades, both the past and the current stage of the building of a developed socialist society has been and is making high demands on the party's internal life.

The CPSL Central Committee and its bodies have been developing their activity in line with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress and they have been utilizing the lessons from the crisis-ridden development and from the resolution on the unity of the party.

The CPCZ Central Committee through its collective assessment and purposeful resolving of tasks has been creating prerequisites for improving the work of the CPSL Central Committee, all party bodies and organizations, communists in the state and economic and social organizations. The CPCZ Central Committee has been purposefully ensuring the unity of the party. The CPCZ Central Committee and Comrade Gustav Husak personally have been consistently implementing in the practical activity of the bodies and organizations, party officials, leading workers, state, economic and social bodies the Leninist orientation, the Leninist teaching about the party against subjectivism and voluntarism and for raising the standards of the decisionmaking processes.

In the past period the CPSL Central Committee held is sessions. Its deliberations and resolutions have concentrated the party's attention on the resolving the specific decisive problems and urgently formulated the tasks and targets in the realization of the strategic line of the 15th CPCZ Congress on the quality and effectiveness of all work.

In the same period 122 sessions of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium were held. The problems of the individual branches, the fulfillment of the national economic tasks, the topical questions of the party, and the ideological, scientific and cultural life in Slovakia were discussed. Also discussed was an analysis of the work of the regional and district committees of the party.

A contribution to the preparation of the materials for decisions and for the fulfillment of the resolutions has been made by a wide circle of members of the Central Committee and its commissions and activists. The CPSL Central Committee regularly discusses reports on the activity of the Presidium, the Secretariat, and also reports dealing with proposals and critical remarks.

In keeping with the demands laid down by the line of the 15th congress, we in Slovakia have also been improving the quality of the membership basis, its class, social and age structure. Since the 15th CPCZ Congress our ranks have grown by 70,477 members and candidate members. Among them are the best workers, cooperative farmers, representatives of the intelligentsia. Among the newly accepted candidate members 64 percent are workers and 31 percent are women. On 1 January 1981 the CPSL had 388,543 members and candidate members. A significant part of the new members work already in party offices and in social organizations. They have become a part of the revolutionary vanguard of our society. To use Lenin's words: We now face the task of a speech and specific assistance so that these young members of the party complete their education. They need this help so that they are brought up as cadres of the building of communism, that they are as committed as possible, able to carry out even the most responsible functions and that they also have the closest links with the masses.

In the next period, too, we will be broadening the ranks of our party, especially with young workers from the big enterprises, improvers and inventors, cooperative farmers, members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia and women.

In view of the new tasks of the development of society and the shaping of the membership ranks, we shall more critically select and prepare candidate members so that the party most honorably and successfully fulfills its purpose. The party demands more and more from its members, since life, and the times too, demand more and more.

He who wants to lead must learn, consult the people and convince them about the policy of the party. More topical than ever are such characteristics of a communist-revolutionary as the ability to open the path for everything new, to fight against sterile routine, indifference and irresponsibility, to take risks and--if necessary--make sacrifices. This requires hard work, creativity, committed discipline, devotion to ideology and courage to overcome anything that slows down our progress.

In the past, too, communists were tested in class struggle in construction work, in the fulfillment of concrete tasks. For this reason also now, through ideological preparation, and the implementation of party tasks, the revolutionary character of party members is being forged. At present, in fact, it is required that the exemplary behavior of communists must be interpreted in a new way. And in this light we stress the need for a consistent implementation of the basic law of the construction and activity of the party and its directives as a guarantee of the party's ability to act in the new and more complex conditions. Responsibility and the demands on initiative and activity apply to every communist. Naturally there is a difference of degree; it is a valid rule that the higher the office, the higher must be the responsibility and initiative. However, we also encounter behavior which contradicts this interpretation of responsibility. More than once we have witnessed passivity in places of responsibility, a low degree of responsibility and the will to manage according to the new principles, instead of the implementation of the results of science we see inflexibility and pedestrian expediency. The interviews connected with the exchange of party membership cards have shown, among other things, that sticking to old patterns in management and activity amounts to a serious obstacle in the party's adjustment to the tasks of today and tomorrow. The interviews have also shown, and it still comes to light during disciplinary meetings, that in the party there are also practices incompatible with the directives, such as the misuse of office, violation of the principles of socialist merit and deriving personal gain from this; there have also been other passengers who, having achieved their personal ambition, wanted to live on the sidelines, free of involvement in the struggles of the party. Such individuals have no place in the ranks of our party.

Most primary organizations take active steps against such behavior but there also are organizations which tolerate this. We do not agree with such an attitude since it weakens the reputation and authority of the party. The authority and reputation of the party among the working people is beyond doubt. We highly appreciate this and shall see to it that every party body, every primary organization, every communist, further deepen and strengthens this authority through his activity.

The work of the party in Slovakia, too, convinces us that the fundamental prerequisites of the ideological and organizational unity of the party are ability to act, the observation of the principles of democratic centralism, the collective character of management and internal party democracy. We are increasingly convinced that in the comprehensive implementation of these Leninist principles a foremost role is being assumed--as has been stressed in the addresses delivered by the general secretary of our party Comrade Gustav Husak--by criticism and self-criticism. The findings of the CPSL Central Committee say that democratic centralism has found and is finding also among us its role, its application, and that the method of criticism and self-criticism is becoming established, as well as controls and checks, the exposure of problems, mistakes and shortcomings. We cannot be satisfied, however, with the effectiveness of the critical analysis, and with the steps taken. In society, just as in the party, there is enough criticism. But there is also plenty of pseudo-criticism. The problem is in that there are fewer solutions and steps that would change and advance work in the main directions of our activity in the spirit of the 15th congress. We must therefore implement the course of looking for and finding ways out, the course of solving the resolving problems, and we must implement this method in life everywhere; this must be done by the CPSL Central Committee and by other bodies and organization.

In the bodies and organizations of the party we must see to it that there is a reaction --above all a reaction consisting of deeds--to the proposals, observations and stimuli voiced by communists at party meetings and conferences, and by nonparty members at public meetings. This aids the collective spirit, awakens interest and activity, and is one of the prerequisites for raising the ability for action of party organizations. In this context we also note the importance of the letters that citizens send to party bodies. They are an expression of trust in the party, frequently indicate serious shortcomings and problems, widen our knowledge and contribute to genuine bonds between the party and the working people.

We want the citizens to point out problems openly and with confidence because experience has shown that anonymous letters frequently disturb comradely relations, bring about distruct and hamper the elimination of shortcomings.

Implementing the party's leading role, enacting the right of control and observing party statutes in party life have been and continue to be aided by the CPSL Central Control and Auditing Commission and the control and auditing commissions at lower party levels. We expect that they will continue to increase demands in checking on communists' approach to fulfilling party resolutions and the norms of party life and that they will demand that lessons and party conclusions are consistently drawn against those responsible for nonfulfillment of tasks.

Comrades!

Our party has always relied on results of social sciences and on technological progress. Today, when we are solving in Slovakia problems of such a complex nature as achieving a breakthrough in the effectiveness and quality of all work, we cannot do without implementing the party's leading role in developing and making use of science, in combining the merits of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution.

The unsatisfactory results in effectiveness and quality and the knowledge of their causes convince us that only the party's purposeful and systematic ideological and political-organizational activity can make us not only understand but also apply the intensive development of science and technology and their use in production and social practice as the supreme revolutionary task of the present and future.

We have convinced ourselves, for instance, of the beneficial nature of the consultations we have had with prominent representatives of our and Soviet science. They have helped to clarify in greater depth matters concerning the socialist way of life under our conditions, implementation of the party's leading role and the current issues of electronics, robots and chemistry and problems connected with the use of plants and timber. We have also dealt with the great prospects and tasks of genetics and with the important problem of environmental protection. It has transpired that such consultations with prominent scientists must be considered one of the permanent forms of our party work, aimed at finding the best possible solutions for practice.

It will be beneficial when the findings of basic research and of specialists are used in solving problems, not only by regional and district committees, but also increasingly by enterprise party organizations.

We are also aware of the importance of organizing and developing efforts in Slovakia aimed at arriving at a scientific knowledge of the objective trends governing social development, production and science and of basing long-term programs and plans on such knowledge.

While struggling to implement the resolutions of the 15th congress we have achieved further progress in improving the quality of the party's internal life. We appreciate the fact that the regional committees as well as the Bratislava CPSL City Committee have been purposefully analyzing, generalizing and disseminating experience from the work of district and borough committees, which has contributed to improving their activity.

We also positively assess the efforts of the district committees aimed at deepening their differentiated approach to the basic party organizations, which has resulted in raising the effectiveness of their assistance to those organizations.

All that has found its manifestation in the upward trend of the basic organizations' entire activity. Regular membership meetings, the members' high attendance and activity at those meetings and a collective drafting of resolutions have become a matter of course. The work of party groups is marked by a new quality. Their impact on the solution of problems at worksites and their contribution to raising the basic organizations' action ability have become more pronounced. The number of basic organizations that have adopted the good habit of organizing public party meetings is constantly increasing.

Those facts undoubtedly influence communists' minds and conduct.

However, we realize that the actual results in production, management, science and, above all, in implementing our party's strategic line do not yet correspond to the considerable efforts exerted in party ranks.

We must solve with full responsibility and seriousness this problem: the relationship between a project and its realization, between resolution and deed. One of the prerequisites for a successful solution is in improving the style of work, from the primary party organizations to the CPSL Central Committee, of the party bodies and apparatus. It will be, no doubt, correct and beneficial if we take more inspiration than we do now from Lenin's heritage and the invaluable experiences of Soviet communists in shaping, testing and implementation of the correct style of work. A unique body of learning in this respect is the ideas included in the works of Comrade Brezhnev: "Little Land," "Rebirth" and "The Virgin Lands." The growing demands also increase the demands on the cadres. The CPSL Central Committee, its Presidium and Secretariat pay permanent attention to the cadre policy and its implementation in practice. In this, we are following the positive tendencies in cadre work. However, it is becoming clear that we must assess cadres in a new way--from the point of view of the importance of management in achieving a turn toward intensive methods of the development of the economy. The new thing we must achieve is a change in the thinking and actions of the leading workers. This must be the target in implementing the leading workers. This must be the target in implementing the leading role of the party, the right to control and the comprehensive assessment of the cadres. It is also desirable to select more purposefully the able functionaries from among the workers, women and young people, to prepare them politically and professionally and introduce them into responsible offices.

All this clearly illustrates the taxing demands applied to party bodies and functionaries, the demands on their performance, revolutionary character, loyalty and creative approach. The comrades working in the party apparatus determine to a large extent the degree of the implementation of the Leninist principles and norms in the life of our party, and the quality of the decisionmaking processes in party bodies. The shaping and improving of the quality of the party apparatus must, therefore, be at the center of our constant attention.

The people's militias and their staffs and units are fulfilling important tasks in the activity of our party. We particularly praise their voluntary discipline, their moral-political profile, their professional preparedness, selflessness, their willingness to help in cases of natural disasters and in various economic voluntary actions. At all levels of party management, we must continue to prepare the people's militias for the honorable fulfillment of their mission.

Dear comrades, a significant contribution to the fulfillment of the resolution of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress has been and is being made by the ideological and political-educational work. A more purposeful approach has led to a further improvement in the system of party education and political education of the broad masses. The effectiveness of propaganda and agitation has increased. New cadres of lecturers, propagandists and editors have come into being, and their professional mastery is gradually improving in quality.

The 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the April session of the CPSL Central Committee assessed in detail the current situation, laid down the main directions and principal tasks of the next development stage of ideological and political-educational work. The session stressed that in the process of constructing an advanced socialism the demands on the standards and effectiveness of the ideological and political-educational work are growing all the time.

We see the basis for raising its effectiveness in the consistent implementation of Leninist principles, especially the scientific, concrete and businesslike character of this work, and the offensive and planned approach of its close link with the fulfillment of the economic and political tasks. The assessment of its effectivness must be based on analysis of social awareness and activity. The CPSL Central Committee has based and is basing its political work in general, and its ideological work in particular, on the document of lessons from the crisis-ridden development in the party and society after the 13th Congress of the CPCZ, since our experiences have fully confirmed the topical nature of this fundamental orientation in respect of solving the problems of the development of society.

The experience of our party, generalized in this document, graphically shows that the fight against rightwing opportunism and revisionism as the chief danger is inseparable from the creative approach and solving of the topical questions of the construction of a developed socialist society. Our ideological, political-educational and theoretical work must be clearly directed now toward qualitative aspects of the development of the economy, on explaining the decisive factors for raising the effectiveness of the national economy, and on an all around understanding of the importance of the scientific and technological development, the process of improving the management of the national economy, and the deepening of the socialist economic integration.

As we have already emphasized, it is important to achieve a change in the thinking and actions of the working people so that they understand that sustaining and improving living standards can be achieved only as long as there is growth in the quality and effectiveness of our economy.

The dissemination and deepening of the materialistic world outlook are among the main tasks of the CPSL. We can now note that the progressive materialistic world outlook is becoming a mass phenomenon in Slovakia and is spreading more and more. The old religious intolerance and discrimination is a matter of the past forever. Our socialist state guarantees equality for our citizens regardless of their attitude to religion. We appreciate the active work of the believers for the construction of our country--we see in it a testimony to the common interests of our people. The practical experiences of the working people, gained in active participation in solving problems and the fulfillment of the tasks of construction of the socialist society, have had and are having the decisive influence in the liberation of the working people from the spiritual heritage of past exploiting societies. We witness the attempts of foreign, clerical anticommunist centers to misuse believers' religious feelings for hostile activity against our socialist country. Drawing on the experiences of our people, its social interests, its patriotic feelings, its cohesion and its progressive peace efforts, we shall face in a determined manner such worn-out subversions whatever their form.

One of the lasting and already traditional tasks of ideological work is the education of working people and youth in socialist patriotism, proletarian and socialist internationalism. Among the broad masses of our people we will continue to promote fraternal relations with the Czech people, the Czech working class. We will deepen internationalist relations between the Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian populations. One of the highest tasks is the promotion among our people, and youth particularly of bonds of friendship and fraternity with the USSR--the shield, support and guarantee of the security of our independence and sovereignty. It is important to strengthen in the people's consciousness a class understanding of the realities of the current world, to clarify the organic interrelation between the construction of developed socialism and the struggle for peace, and offensively to confront carefree moods and self-satisfaction. This comprises a constant revelation of the aggressive substance of imperialism which, as is being revealed in day to day reality, has not given up its aims to achieve world mastery, to suppress national liberation movements, to weaken the unity and concern of socialist countries.

It is necessary, further, to continue to defend real socialism against the attacks of imperialism, to clarify in all ways its advantages and historic prospects.

On this occasion we intend to voice appreciation for the work of thousands of lecturers and propagandists who appear daily before the people, inform them, explain topical problems of domestic political and international developments. We also want to thank those who offer their services to party education. The results which our party has achieved in the past years in educating members and nonparty people are not small. Internal party education today has a mass character. It has acquired traits of regularity; it represents a consistent system of education and party schools. We have made progress in the effectiveness of party education, but in view of the new tasks and conditions the degree of that effectiveness in insufficient. That is why we have to raise them in the nearest future to the level of requirements and demands of a developed socialist society. The main task is perfection of the contents, forms and methods of party education. It is necessary very critically to mention formalistic ways, accepted patterns, mere routine, the repetition of the same subjects to the same participants; a fact which can sometimes result in damage instead of gain. To use the words of Comrade Brezhnev: It is necessary to speak to people simply and understandably, and for this to become a rule; to write in such a way that each and every sentence contains a live idea and feelings. Where the correct forms and methods are used, the required results in people's attitudes and behavior will become apparent.

Raising the attack and effectiveness of our ideological and political-educational work is organically bound with the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, with the development of social science. In the past period, the social sciences in Slovakia--especially on the basis of a unified program--achieved certain results. A positive development has been recorded in past years by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSL Central Committee, which has become an acknowledged social scientific workplace. The faculty of the advanced political school of the CPSL Central Committee in Bratislava is also fulfilling its role in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We demand from our social scientific workplaces in the present period that their research work should concentrate on key problems of the management of socialist society, that they work out--for the needs of party and state bodies--considered analyses of the current social processes, and, on that basis, formulate clear, scientific and well-founded views of the future. We expect their effective help in programming for future needs and possibilities which are given by the organic links between socialist social relations and the scientific-technical revolution. We expect that party theoretic workplaces examine these questions from the point of view of the assertion of the party's leading role and the intensification of its close bonds with the masses. These exacting tasks require raising the effectiveness of research, rationally to concentrate forces and more effectively to combine efforts with workplaces in the Czech Socialist Republic to deepen the combination of their own work with the advanced social scientific front of the socialist countries, especially of the USSR. This requires raising the social class responsibility, as well as the creative activity of research workplaces.

The new findings of social sciences must be more rapidly handed over to those who must utilize them.

An important role in this respect is to be played by the entire system of party schooling and, in its framework, by regional political schools whose material-technical base has been further extended. In this connection, we express appreciation for their work in the education of party cadres. We want to thank comrades from schools and scientific workplaces of the CPCZ Central Committee, and the Soviet comrades who are contributing to an important extent to the education of party cadres from Slovakia. In the past period, party organs and organizations in Slovakia have been very responsibly securing the development of mass political work. Thanks to that, too, we are able to note that the working people's trust in the party has been strengthened, as well as their conviction that we are advancing on the correct path--a fact which has been reflected in the higher working and special activity of citizens.

But it is necessary to raise the effectiveness of mass political work so that it addresses itself not only to reason but also to the heart, so that it affects feelings too, and selects forms which convince and gain people. Means of mass information and propaganda, the press, radio and television, have achieved during the past period on the whole good results in the clarification and promotion of the policy of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. In this connection, we appreciate especially the creative approach of PRAVDA, the organ of the CPSL Central Committee. Its topicality, depicting the heroism of work; its concrete approach and inventiveness in the promotion of the policy of the party; its criticism of shortcomings--all are aspects which make it, together with UJ SZO and NOVE SLOVO, an example for the other means of mass information and propaganda. We do not conceal that articles of lower standards were also published, that current affairs programs and literary entertainment programs which did not further our cause were broadcast. We expect, therefore, that journalists will act in their future work in such a way that the word printed in papers, or sent out on the air from the radio and television, arouses trust among our people, convinces them and, at the same time, inspires them to creative deeds. Each and every article in the papers, every program on radio and television must be understood as a serious dialogue with the people, founded on a serious analysis of facts and a determined party outlook.

Our own experiences and the experiences of fraternal parties show that the tasks of constructing a developed socialist society can be solved by us only by further perfecting the leading role of the CPCZ and its fighting detachment--the CPSL. From this it follows that the activities of each organ, each organization, and their relationships, must be raised to the level which corresponds to the stage we are entering. We must develop our understanding, see further ahead, raise the effectiveness of our work. It is still valid that the strength of our party resides in its unity and capacity to act, in the trust with which it is supported by the broadest masses.

Esteemed comrades: Our party has, since the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress, gone through an important stage in which, in spite of difficulties, problems and shortcomings, positive results predominate. The tasks which the party sets for the nearest period are exacting, but we can and must fulfill them. We can, and will, fulfill them because we rely on a conscious working class, steeled in long years of political and social struggles against capitalism and in the construction of socialism. We will succeed in fulfilling them because we possess mature cooperative farmers who significantly contribute to the development of society; we will fulfill them because we possess a large socialist intelligentsia whom we expect to play an important role in mastering the scientific-technical revolution. We will master the new tasks because we possess a healthy, vital youth who want to contribute to the development of society. It is within our power to fulfill them because we have a firm internationalist unity of Czech, Slovaks and other nationalities; because we rely on the developed material-technical and scientific base of socialist Czechoslovakia.

We will fulfill the tasks set because we are led in the struggle for their fulfillment by the CPCZ, whose policy expresses the innermost interests of the working people of our nations. We draw solid certainty and self-confidence from our membership in the ever strengthening socialist community, headed by the USSR, from ever developing international cooperation, as well as from the possibilities of learning from Soviet Communists and of drawing from the great creative contribution of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Esteemed comrades! In concluson allow us to proclaim: Long live our dear Czechoslovak Sovialist Republic and its working people! [Applause]

Long live the CPCZ--the [word indistinct] organizer of our victories! [applause and chanting of "long live the CPCZ!"]

Long live the CPSU and the Soviet people, our most faithful ally! [applause and chanting of "Long Live the CPSU!"]

Long live the community of socialist countries, long live progress and peace in the world! [applause and chanting]

Long live the 16th CPCZ Congress, paving the way for a new stage in the construction of a developed socialist society! [applause]

Closing Speech

LD231439 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Mar 81

[Concluding speech delivered by Jozef Lenart, CPSL Central Committee first secretary, at 22 March closing session of the CPSL Congress in Bratislava--recorded]

[Text] Comrades! Our CPSL Congress is drawing to a close. Proceeding from its preparations, its course and its results, we can state with good conscience that it has fulfilled its tasks, that it has evaluated exactingly the work done and that with great responsibility towards the party and the people it has examined the tasks which we will have to master in Slovakia in the coming period.

The congress has expressed its unanimous agreement with the assessment of the work and results contained in the CPSL Central Committee report and has subscribed unanimously to the draft of the main guidelines for the economic and social development, to be discussed by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The discussion at our congress has provided a convincing picture of the further growth we have achieved in Slovakia despite complicated conditions. The delegates spoke in a business-like and sober manner about the struggle for overcoming difficulties and submitted suggestions for tackling problems.

We highly value and are very encouraged over the fact that the enormous development of Slovakia, the selfless work of our people--both communists and nonparty people--has been appreciated so highly and with such warmth by the CPCZ Central Committee delegation and by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary and president of the republic, personally, when he pointed out that results achieved in Slovakia constitute an important contribution to the further development of the combined Czechoslovak economy, to strengthening our political and economic power and to the stability of the CSSR and its international position.

On our side, we highly and gratefully appreciate the concern and attention the CPCZ Central Committee, members of its Presidium, comrade secretaries of the Central Committee, communists in the federal government, in the Federal Assembly, in ministries and other central bodies, and in scientific institutions are devoting systematically to the problems of the development of Slovakia.

The high appreciation of the party's work in Slovakia voiced by Comrade Husak at our congress is for us an obligation as well as an appeal to see on the plane of great political and state importance our further struggle for effectiveness and quality and our responsibility for the honest fulfillment of new tasks. Conscious of this responsibility, our congress, with critical exactingness, and I would say strictness, pointed out our shortcomings and weak spots, and, backed by greater knowledge and experiences, sought solutions. It is very important that we have agreed that bringing about a turn in the effectiveness and quality of all work is essential. We have agreed that it is necessary to bring about this essential turn especially by work in all sectors with the aim of markedly raising the share of high quality products. The way towards this objective is conscious discipline, creative initiative, courageous utilization of sciences and technology, more skillful and effective management and our more active approach to the development of integration and cooperation in sciences and production with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. This demands that we mobilize the party, that we mobilize people, their brains, resolve and feelings, that we make use of their newly acquired knowledge, their qualifications and education.

Times and our interest dictate that we efficiently use every minute, every hour, every day; that we economically use the products of our work, take care in handling machinery, materials and energy, in using food and fodder; that we do not waste anything. We can and we must better use the great advantages of socialism for our common interest, for the workers in various industries, and for enterprises to joint efforts. It is necessary more resolutely to follow the path of common socialist pledges for good-quality final results. This demands from us, from the Presidium, the Secretariat, the CPSL Central Committee apparatus, down to every primary organization, from the government down to each workshop--creative work, consistency and good results. To put it briefly, our path and method is conscientious work, creative initiative and science. It is necessary to work honestly in relation to the party and its program, in relation to the socialist homeland.

In this struggle for the protection and efficiency of the national economy, for effectiveness, the Soviet Union is our great support. We are finding out with deeper and deeper certainty that it is not only a reliable partner in delivering raw materials but it also represents above all the world's scientific-technological base. It is especially this direction that ought to be followed in our cooperation. We must extend and strengthen scientific-technological and production integration in this direction. We are united also on this issue, but it is necessary that this be transformed into action--such as the example of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station's excellent results in cooperation It is necessary that every enterprise, every production economic unit contribute not only by words but also by the results of their joint work toward enriching the socialist community. We highly assess the results of our regions and districts in their friendly cooperation with our Soviet partners. It is necessary even more resolutely to acquire and implement party methods and the new methods of the work of the Soviet communists, particularly their consistency, the ability to finish and complete work.

When stressing the demand to increase quality and effectiveness as the main task at present, we realize that the further development of socialism depends on it. The issue of quality and effectiveness also becomes the focus of the class struggle with imperialism. We are witnessing the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to break the faith of our people in their abilities to tackle this task, to industrialize the country. They admit--this perhaps is possible, but solving the problem of quality and effectiveness--socialism is not capable of this. The imperialists do not spare tens of millions of dollars, allocated for propaganda against us, for subverting socialist conviction, the self-confidence of our people. At the same time they allocate hundreds of billions for armaments, threatening peace and also designed to paralyze the economy of the socialist countries. They are also designed to destroy the possibility of fully developing the advantage of socialism which has the ability to achieve victory over capitalism in higher labor productivity.

The imperialists and their flunkies, however, look forward to forcing our economy to mark time vainly. We are convinced that socialism has sufficient strength to secure the development of science, as well as its application, in order to elevate society to the level foreseen by successes in both the natural and technical sciences and the social sciences, in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the initiative of the masses. We can say with certainty that just as we were able to solve the problem of industrialization and collectivization in spite of enemies prophecies during the difficult conditions of the cold war and the embargo, we will cope also with this historical task despite slanders and attempts at diversion. We will further and successfully build an advanced socialist society. [applause]

At the annual meetings, party conferences and now at our congress, we have agreed that we must concentrate our strength especially on the realization of resolutions. At this congress we have unanimously approved a resolution defining our most immediate tasks, and we do not see it as a mere formality. We accept it as our own communist pledge. We must fulfill our duties honorably.

At the same time this is a pledge of every party organization, every communist, a pledge of the big unit of Slovak Communists numbering almost 400,000. We must fulfill this pledge in order to win all the working people, the cooperative farmers and members of the intelligentsia to our tasks. This is the determination with which we are approaching our 16th CPCZ Congress.

Our congress deliberations have been followed with interest--indeed experienced together with us--by the communists and other working people of the Slovak regions. The congress has received many hundreds of telegrams and letters of greetings from enterprises, cooperatives, institutes, schools, and from all districts of Slovakia. We wish to express our thanks for the good words embodying the trust of the people in our party. Above all we appreciate the proud reports of working extraordinary shifts, and letters in which collectives and individuals undertake new tasks, new pledges to fulfill tasks in good quality and to exceed them. We also wish to thank all comrades who have made a contribution to the good preparation and progress of the congress, both from the content and from the organization-technical point of view. We particularly thank the members of the CPSL Central Committee, the apparatus and aktiv of the CPSL Central Committee, scientific and political workers, editors and all workers of the mass communications media. We also thank the artists who prepared the artistic program for the congress delegates. We also thank the builders of this representative building in which our congress has taken place and all comrades who have been looking after the services essential for the successful work of our congress.

Comrades! Allow me to express my cordial thanks at the close of the congress to the CPCZ Central Committee delegation for its participation in our congress. We thank Comrade Bilak for his advice to the Congress Presidium. We thank Comrades Jakes and Havlin for their stimuli and suggestions concerning our work, and we thank the CPCZ Central Committee workers for their help in the preparation of the congress. Particularly we thank--on behalf of the entire congress--Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, for his address, for his words of appreciation, for advice and support for future work. [applause]

Dear Comrade Husak, dear members of the delegation! Convey the sincere comradely greetings of our congress, of the communists from the working people of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR], to the CPCZ Central Committee, to the communists and all the people of the Czech Socialist Republic. [applause] Assure them of our will and determination to fulfill your statement, dear Comrade Husak, that the results we have achieved are a prerequisite for the SSR to make an ever greater contribution to the construction and development of a united Czechoslovak economy, and to solving the tasks we face in future years. We know that the close cooperation and fraternity of our nations and nationalities is the foundation of the strength of the republic. Therefore let me say in conclusion:

May the fraternal bond of the Czechs and Slovaks, and other nationalities, be stronger and stronger and further develop. Long live our dear country--the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic! [applause]

The guarantee of all our successes and victories is the CPCZ, which is celebrating the 60th anniversary of its foundation. So we say--long live our dear party! [applause] [chants of "Long live the CPCZ!"]

The guarantee of our national freedom, state independence and security, now and in the future, is the Soviet Union. Long live the Soviet people and Communist Party! With the Soviet Union forever! [applause] [chants of "Long Live the CPSU!"]

In order to fulfill our goals, in order to achieve progress, in order to achieve new victories for socialism, we must defend peace. May the defense of socialism, the defense of peace, be stronger and stronger! Long live peace! [applause] [chants of "Long Live the CPCZ!"]

VERNER HOLDS TALK WITH CEMA SECRETARY FADEYEV

LD250036 East Berlin ADN in English 2143 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 24 Mar (ADN)--The German Democratic Republic consistently continues its successful course of unity between economic growth and social security, Paul Verner, a member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) confirmed here today in a friendly talk with Nikolay Fadeyev, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Great importance was attached to the close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, Paul Verner said. He then informed his host of the preparation for the 10th SED congress.

Nikolay Fadeyev was full of praise for the results of the GDR's economy and its contribution to the deepening of the CMEA member countries' economic integration.

Following, there was an exchange of views on cooperation within the CMEA. Both sides acknowledged the great importance the resolutions passed by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have for the further development of the economic and social [words indistinct] among the CMEA member countries.

EGON KRENZ, FRG SOCIALIST WILLI PIECYK HOLD TALKS

LD241204 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Text] The responsibility of young people to prevent a new round in the arms race and consolidate international security was stressed in Berlin today by Egon Krenz, first secretary of FDJ Central Council, and the chairman of the Young Socialists in the Federal Republic, Willi Piecyk. During an exchange of views, they discussed opportunities of how youth organizations from strongly-differing social systems could help efforts for peace, ending the arms race and continuing the detente process. In the interests of continuing to live peacefully together in future, Willi Piecyk stressed that NATO, particularly its leading power, the United States, would, in the end, have to sit down at the negotiating table with the Soviet Union.

Talks Continue

LD250010 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The chairman of the FRG Young Socialists, Willi Piecyk, and the first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Egon Krenz, today continued their talks together with their delegations.

Earlier, at a seminar, both delegations had discussed the responsibility of youth organizations, in states with different social systems, in the peace struggle. The chairman of the Young Socialists described the struggle for peace and detente, and the stand for concrete measures toward disarmament as an important task of his organization.

FRG SAID TO VIOLATE NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

AU241706 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Mar 81 p 2

[Commentary by "W.M.": "Characterized by the Evil Spirit of Revanchism"]

[Text] The decision of the FRG ministers of culture in February that on all maps in schoolbooks and in all cartographic works of the FRG, the "1937 borders of the German reich have to be shown," and that the border between the GDR and the FRG has to be marked as a "border of a special kind," has caused concern and resentment in many places. This holds true above all for those countries whose sovereignty and territorial integrity is affected by the Bonn decision. On 9 March Ambassador Ewald Moldt, head of the permanent representation of the GDR in the FRG, resolutely protested before Gunter Huonker, minister of state at the FRG federal Chancellory, against Bonn's action, which is contrary to international law.

The Polish People's Republic and the CSSR also resolutely protested against Bonn's violating generally recognized norms of international law.

In an aide memoire, the USSR stated that the decision of the conference of FRG ministers of culture is an inadmissable attempt at eluding the territorial and political obligations the FRG has assumed in currently valid treaties and agreements.

The FRG is faced with the question of how to bring its claims, imbued by the spirit of revanchism, into accord with the obligations it has assumed within the framework of the European system of treaties.

KURT HAGER AWARDS BANNER TO HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY

DW250926 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The Berlin Humboldt University received a Central Committee banner of honor today presented by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee. Kurt Hager stressed at a festive meeting that the work of his alma mater was today linked inseparably with the capital, its plants and installations. That is being demonstrated in the practice-oriented work, the many activities aimed at further education, research work, the implementation of scientific results as well as in spiritual and cultural life. Professor Klein, the rector of the university, said that the educational institute has fulfilled its plans. In 1980 some 46 research results were confirmed as being top scientific achievements. Fourteen of them were achieved directly in competition work for the 10th SED Congress.

ECONOMIC MEETINGS AT LEIPZIG SPRING FAIR

AU241725 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21/22 Mar 81 p 6

[Summary] On 20 March, Horst Soelle, GDR minister of foreign trade, received Andrej Barcak, the CSSR minister of foreign trade, for a talk. They discussed trade in 1981 on the basis of the long-term agreement for 1981-85.

During his visit to the Leipzig Fair, CEMA Secretary Nikolai Fadeyev met with Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to discuss questions of cooperation among CEMA countries.

Gerhard Beil, state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, received Christian-Peter Henle, chairman of the board of the FRG Kloeckner concern, for a talk. On this occasion Henle submitted some proposals for further expanding trade relations between the FRG concern and the GDR.

Eduard Schwierz, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade, received for a talk Ali O'bouzar, head of a delegation from Algeria and Algerian secretary of state for foreign trade. Both sides stressed the good prospects for concluding long-term agreements. On the same day Ali O'bouzar met with Otfried Steger, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics. Friedmar Clausnitzer, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade, received (Joseph Boateng) deputy minister of agriculture of the Republic of Ghana. The two sides discussed possibilities for further expanding economic relations in the field of agriculture. The GDR will contribute to this field by delivering agricultural machines and equipment to the Republic of Ghana.

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES CDU PRESIDIUM

LD241358 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Text] A meeting of the CDU Executive Presidium with CDU members from all bezirks of the GDR took place in Burgscheidungen, Halle Bezirk today. It discussed current issues of socialist military policy. Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy defense minister, spoke on this topic. Earlier, CDU Chairman Gerald Goetting addressed the meeting. Dieter Hornung had the following conversation with Ulrich Fahl, Presidium member and secretary of the CDU Executive.

[Begin recording] [Question] Current military policy in relation to your party's political-ideological work represents a broad range of topics, which perhaps, you could sum up in a few words. First, what in your view is the CDU's principal motivation in dealing with this topic?

[Answer] We regard our cooperation in implementing all measures designed to protect the lives of our people and preserve peace as a necessary corollary of our shared responsibility for peace and the well-being of our fellow men. Many CDU members are contributing to the reliable and effective national defense of the GDR as a necessary protection from the danger threatening from imperialism for example in the ranks of the armed forces and civil defense, in state and economic managerial posts, social organizations, and reservists or border helpers. They are doing so from a sense of civic responsibility, certain that they are discharging their concrete Christian responsibility for peace. History shows--and that was the point of departure for many speakers today--that whoever wishes to make an effective stand for peace must distinguish between the forces of imperialism, which considerably heighten the war danger by their policy of confrontation and building up arms, and socialism, which has established peace firmly in its social structure. That is why, as we see it, under socialist conditions, devotion to peace, defense preparedness, education for peace and defense education form an integral whole. To secure peace and protect socialism are two tasks that belong together.

[Question] This idea which you just mentioned was associated today with support for the recent peace initiative. Let me ask generally: How do you and your party argue your approval of these proposals?

[Answer] Of course our meeting, and indeed CDU members generally, expressed much praise and support for the new peace initiatives proclaimed by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. It is of great importance and highly relevant that the Soviet Union puts forward proposals on such urgent issues as the ending of the arms race, and preserving and consolidating detente, the peaceful settlement of conflicts--proposals which have already mobilized world opinion. We share the certainty Erich Honecker expressed in the Kremlin palace in Moscow: Even in more acute international conditions, we shall and must succeed in achieving fresh progress in strengthening peace.

Let me refer you to the statement by our party presidium that we Christian Democrats draw new confidence from the Soviet peace initiatives and the vista of a socialist society held out by the CPSU Congress. Once again Moscow has put out signals, which we took up at our meeting today. [end recording]

REISZ VIEWS PARIS MEETING OF SOCIALIST PARTIES

DW241940 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1813 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Albert Reisz foreign policy review of the week: "The World Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Good evening, dear listeners. One thing is quite clear. Wherever world policy issues are discussed today, they are always about the proposals advanced by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. This was very obvious on Thursday and Friday last week when leaders of socialist and social democratic parties from the countries of the European community as well as social democratic politicians like Olof Palme of Sweden and Karlevi Sorsa of Finland met in Paris. Bruno Kreisky of Austria was also expected but was unable to come because of sickness. The subject of the conference was disarmament and security, and the social democratic leaders naturally also acted to support their fellow party member Francois Mitterand in his election campaign for the presidential office in France. But the topic of the debate by far exceeds the election campaign, although (?it is in full swing now).

I do not want to go into details, because this station carried fairly detailed reports on the meeting. But let me outline some essential aspects which are remarkable. To begin with, the conference expressed concern, large concern over the international situation, and as soon as concrete facts were mentioned, it became obvious that they are concerned about the course of U.S. policies. At the final press conference Joop Den Uyl, chairman of the Netherlands Labor Party, said that the policy of the new U.S. administration was discussed. I cannot imagine that an experienced politician like Den Uyl should have forgotten the Soviet Government while making this statement. This shows that many if not all social democrats are concerned about something very specific.

At the meeting most of them did not fail to address remarks to the Soviet Union, with some trying to maintain restraint, although some of these were unable to hush up the impression that this was nothing but a rhetoric exercise.

Dear listeners, there have been no few reports recently on developments and events within social democratic parties, above all in the context of the dangers involved in stepped-up armament. The Paris meeting of social democratic leaders mirrored in part these developments. In this respect the United States is faced with trends in the ranks of some of its closest allies. For example, no one wants to act for the sake of the Warsaw Pact, but all are genuinely and highly concerned about peace and international detente and especially the security of the European Continent.

The social democratic leaders are confronted with the fact that the Soviet Union submitted a number of proposals. Karleiv Sorsa, chairman of the Finnish Social Democrats, even said that Leonid Brezhnev's proposals were of fundamental importance. Others have some objection or another to the proposals. But it is a fact that nothing of the kind was and is done by the United States. [Words indistinct] while the other side even says that relations between the United States and the USSR are guided by confrontation. This is what Alexander Haig said last Thursday.

The statements made in Paris on the Soviet proposals and initiatives are in sharp contrast with the rash rejection by Bonn and others at a time when such authorized and unauthorized speakers just could not have studied Leonid Brezhnev's proposals. We should really contradict American figures who now reproach social democrats with showing a tendency toward one-sidedness. No, they have not become communists; they continue to be social democrats. But what is one-sided is the policy of the United States.

Washington recently was accused rightly of seeing only military problems in the world. This means blocking detente, and many social democrats--and not only them--want to have detente. They want to have detente, they have to want it, because what will happen if there is no detente? We heard it over the weekend when Brzezinski's successor made a statement. President Reagan's security advisor Richard Allen complained about endeavors in Europe to establish closer relations with the East bloc for furthering peace and regional stability.

Our first question: What's wrong with that? Our second question: Since this tendency is deplored by the security advisor of the President, should there be no relations with the East bloc? Should there be nothing to further peace and regional stability? Should there be discord and instability? Is that what the White House wants to have in Europe? Mr Allen said in addition--and I quote: We hear today again the despicable theory of better Red than dead. This, dear listeners, ought to make us think.

For this theory to be despicable, as the presidential security advisor says, means the United States proposes to the West and North European countries, better dead than Red. We will have to say a word about Red later. But be that as it may, dear listeners, is this not an appeal to die? Is this not an appeal to the Europeans to make a large sacrifice? Why, what and whom are the Europeans to die for? For the interests of U.S. arms producers? For the interests of U.S. big capital? A good European is supposed to find all this worth dying for. We might say this is stupid and impudent, but there is more to it, and that is what the ruling circles in the United States want.

NATO's missile decision which was primarily enforced by them envisages the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Secretary of Defense Weinberger wants to station the neutron bomb in Western Europe. Washington demands that NATO prepare for supporting the United States with troops in areas of tension. This makes it clear what they speculate on. Everything is to happen in Europe, while they themselves believe they can keep out of it. This is a big superstition but it shows what fate the U.S. political and military strategists have in store for the Europeans, including their own allies, what fate they would intend for them, if they had their way.

What is behind this impudent demand, better red than dead? Is this the fighting song with which the French, the Belgians, the Norwegians, the Italians and the West Germans are to be sent to war to die as heroes, while people in the cities of these countries are to die a comforting death because they are sure they will die but they won't die red? Moreover, they will die for the growing wealth of U.S. arms producers.

How about this red, dear listeners? There have always been attempts to scare people with this red, whenever plans were hatched out in imperialist countries which were to be hushed up. Regarding the policy of armaments, for instance, Hitler did it. Before him, when the Soviet power was weak, several months after the October Revolution, 14 imperialist powers prepared the war of intervention by talking about the red danger, and today a similar thing is being attempted.

Out of sheer fear of red, people are not supposed to be aware that the reds in Moscow do not want a rising number of ever newer missiles to be deployed; that they want these missiles to be reduced and abolished, naturally on a mutual basis; that they are willing to make concessions, as Leonid Brezhnev's proposal on confidence-building measures has shown, a proposal which even meets Western ideas.

The picture is completed by the demand made by the same Richard Allen that the European NATO countries cut their social policy programs and budgets, meaning that they do the same thing his President is doing in the United States. This is how people in Washington think and this also is what they want to persuade the Europeans is good for them. It is against this background that the uneasiness and the evident opposition to the policy of stepped-up armament has emerged in the European NATO countries. Good evening.

HONECKER CONGRATULATES PAKISTANI PRESIDENT

AU241655 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan. The telegram expresses the hope that the joint efforts of all those interested in maintaining peace and the security of peoples will succeed in peacefully solving the current complicated international problems. It also expresses the conviction that thus good conditions will be created to further develop the existing mutually beneficial relations between the GDR and Pakistan.

PAUL VERNER RECEIVES ETHIOPIAN SPORTS DELEGATION

AU241709 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Thursday Paul Verner, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received the delegation of the commission for sports and physical culture of socialist Ethiopia, headed by its chairman (Yidnekachev Tessema), member of the International Olympic Committee.

Paul Verner informed the Ethiopian guests about the preparations for the 10th party congress and the successful implementation of the decisions in the field of physical culture and sports in the GDR.

The sides exchanged opinions and experience on further cooperation in the field of physical culture and sports, as well as on questions of international sports developments.

The talks were attended by: Manfred Ewald, member of the SED Central Committee; Rudi Hellmann, SED Central Committee member and chairman of the German gymnastics and sports federation. Also present at the talk was Berhanu Jember, ambassador of socialist Ethiopia in the GDR.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH BULGARIA

LD241202 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Text] The deputy foreign trade ministers of the GDR and Bulgaria, Eduard Schwierz and Marin Marinov, signed a protocol on trade for 1981 today in Berlin. The agreement provides for mutual trade in goods and services to continue to develop according to plan. The planned mutual exports and imports reflect the successfully developing socialist economic integration.

HUNGARY'S GASPAR OPENS WFTU SESSION IN BERLIN

LD250022 Budapest in English to Europe 2100 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] In Berlin, the WFTU bureau session was opened by Mr Sandor Gaspar, president of the WFTU and secretary general of the Hungarian Trade Union Council. The agenda includes the preparations for the 10th WFTU Congress and the trade unions disarmament conference, as well as a document to be submitted to the next session of the [words indistinct] scheduled to meet in Budapest in July this year.

Harry Tisch's Address

LD241350 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The FDGB has described the maintenance and safeguarding of peace as an indispensable part of the representation of trade union interests and the most important task of the present. Speaking today to the WFTU Bureau meeting in Berlin, the chairman of the National Executive Committee, Harry Tisch, supported, as he put it, the clear, commonsense proposals of the Soviet Union for arms limitation and disarmament. He also backed the concept of the 26th CPSU Congress for political and military detente and for confidence-building measures in all regions of the world.

Tisch in this connection referred to the FDGB appeal to the CSCE follow-up conference in Madrid to take up the Soviet Union's new offers. The most aggressive imperialist circles--the United States and its NATO allies--had to be pushed back from their confrontation course and be forced to the negotiating table. The speaker condemned the fact that these forces are deciding on crazy arms budgets, build and station new nuclear medium-range missiles, plan to use the neutron bomb and are cynically planning for limited nuclear war. It is becoming increasingly clear that mass unemployment and inflation have their sources in the weaknesses of the imperialist system.

Because of the complicated international situation great efforts by trade unionists all over the world, particularly in Europe, are required to maintain existing contracts and to develop further cooperation. The bureau meeting in Berlin is dealing in particular with the preparations for the 10th WFTU Congress which is to be held in Havana.

KANIA ADDRESSES FARMERS CONGRESS ON TASKS, CRISIS

LD242010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1825 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at seventh congress of rural activists on 24 March--place not given, recorded]

[Text] Esteemed delegates to the congress, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of our party to address you. Your congress, the congress of delegates of agricultural circles, circles of rural housewives and agricultural branch unions is an event of great significance in the life of the countryside and the whole community. You are the best form of representation of all of private farming--the credible representation of the Polish countryside.

Today, the problems of agriculture are a great national issue. We wish to draw conclusions from your session as to the action to be taken to strengthen the position of the farmer, to create better living and working conditions and to develop favorable conditions for the universal development of self-governing activity. We will also debate other matters which are important to Poland--you are, after all, not just farmers but also citizens of the republic.

There are many reasons for worry. We are all affected by a difficult situation, a crisis situation. We are most concerned to overcome this situation.

Together with you and the entire community, we would like these urgent problems to be removed from our life as quickly as possible. After all, many issues have piled up, many bad practices and much evil. You spoke about it at the beginning of the congress. We shall not remove these bad phenomena if our thoughts and actions are not united in the conviction that our socialist fatherland is in dire need, that chances of undisturbed development are opening for it, but that at the same time it is threatened by great dangers.

The economic crisis is worsening, production is falling, the nation's debts are increasing. These are not phenomena and [word indistinct] which provoke anxiety, but they do demand the honest work of the whole community as well as steady production and the harmonious functioning of all branches of the national economy.

Without your hands and your minds, without your committment, the country is threatened with a steadily worsening shortage of food. Exports, due to falling production, are decreasing. The possibilities for purchasing food are decreasing and the indebtness is growing. We believe that country folk will understand their civic duty toward the entire nation.

You are deliberating at a difficult moment for our country. The economic crisis coincides with a profound political crisis. How can one understand calls for strikes at this time? It is impossible, irrespective of the intentions, to understand this in any way other way than creation of the danger of self-destruction.

Who on earth can encourage farm workers to strike, to threaten a farmers' strike in the name of short-sighted political goals, in a situation of food shortages? Who has the courage to turn a local incident into an issue which threatens national catastrophe?

Our party initiated, and consistently applies, the method of solving of conflicts by talks and agreements.

The policy of accord, however, depends not only on our party, on the authorities of People's Poland. It is necessary to demand that all citizens should show moderation, commonsense, resistance to attempts at stirring up trouble and exaggerating and intensifying conflicts. Understanding the interests of the state must take precedence over the tendency to emotional reaction. Everyone, regardless of his or her membership of a party or a trade union, regardless of his or her views on these matters is asking himself or herself: What next?

Yet everybody who thinks soberly also realizes that citizens have the duty to do an honest day's work, that they should be concerned for the common good and should act against social tensions.

The Polish United Workers Party, aware of its great responsibilities toward the nation, has undertaken the task of thorough renewal of political, social and economic life. At three consecutive plenary sessions of the Central Committee of our party, we pointed out what serves the socialist renewal of our life and what hinders it. We took an unequivocal stand in favor of the development of socialist democracy, but equally unequivocally and clearly against anarchy, against any threats to socialistsm. Working people, and above all workers and peasants--the creators of the material basis for the existence of the nation--are becoming more and more aware of these differences in approach to the solution of the principal problems of the country.

In a multitude of events, facts and slogans, it is possible to lose one's bearings. This is why we repeat constantly and patiently: We are carrying out socialist renewal but those who favor disorganization of the economic, social and political life of the country, those who stand for discord and dissent, have chosen a different road from ours. Our country and its national economy are in need of fundamental reforms. The government, guided by the urgent requirements of the nation and by the instructions of the party, has undertaken an extremely difficult task of leading the country out of a profound crisis.

The program presented by the premier, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, is generally known. The draft of the economic reform has been published. Subsequent decisions aimed at stabilizing the economy and mastering the great difficulties in the supply of goods and services to the population, are being taken. The main problem of our everyday life is the supply, or rather the getting hold of, food. The effort involved in this is a familiar experience for everybody, especially in the cities. Waiting lines are growing not only for meat and butter but also for other basic commodities, including those other than foodstuffs. We have a program for resolving the food crisis. It was created with your contribution and as a result of general consultations.

This program is constituted by the guidelines of the party Central Committee Politburo and of the ZSL Supreme Committee on key problems of agricultural policy, agriculture and food economy. We came out decisively for fundamental transformation [gruntownej przebudowy] of the agricultural policy in accordance with the nation's needs for food; consolidation of the position and guaranteeing the durability of private farming; comprehensive development of peasant self-government, with their independent agricultural self-government organization; transferring part of the industrial potential, in particular the chemical and machine industries, to the service of agriculture and food economy; giving to various sectors of our agriculture equal access to investment and production resources; equal access to cultural goods to the population of countryside and towns alike; and endeavoring to level the social conditions of agricultural workers.

On this subject, both our party and the ZSL are quite clear: individual farms [gospodarstwa indywidualne] are the basis of Polish agriculture; they have in Poland an unalienable right of ownership and durable prospects for development. [lengthy applause] Therefore, they are a durable element of our national economy. By their work and produce, they play the principal role in supplying food to the nation. Therefore, we cannot allow individual farming to be understood or treated differently by anybody anywhere. We shall, together with you, activists of agricultural self-government, overcome such bad habits and prejudices.

We have instructed all party organizations and echelons to show friendly care for the problems of individual farms--all peasant farms without exception, smaller and bigger, specialized and multiculture farms alike, and also [word indistinct]. We affirm there is only one agriculture, even if there are different types of farming, and each of them has its specific problems and needs. Therefore, it is so very important that the authorities and all agricultural services should adopt a rational attitude to the needs of each farmer and each farm.

In some milieu there are attempts being made to contrast individual farming with state and cooperative farms. Today, when the party and the ZSL are implementing the policy of one farming industry and the equal treatment of all its sectors, there is no basis for this kind of opinion and there must be no place for discrimination against any sector.

All privileges which apply to a part of farms have been eliminated. Equal chances and identical economic conditions are being created, including procurement prices for agricultural produce and the principles of credit policy. In the coming years we will take particular care over increasing supplies of means of production to meet the requirements of individual farms. This means a prospect of speeded-up development of means of production to your farms.

At the same time, we will take care [to ensure] that the assets accumulated in state farms and agricultural production cooperatives, as in the whole of agriculture, yield better results and higher labor efficiency. We are subordinating the economic and financial systems of socialized farms to this goal.

The renewal of life in the countryside, bringing valuable qualities and initiatives, is also expressed in the rebirth of agricultural circles and other agricultural self-government organizations. The party and the ZSL see in this authentic social movement their partner in the solution of the difficult problems of the countryside and private farming.

Agricultural circles are developing into a great force for transforming agriculture and the Polish countryside; and there is also a lot of criticism of their activity. That which is heard at parish and voivodship conferences is aimed at strengthening the circles. Those voices from outside, from outside the countryside, from people who have nothing in common with the peasants' interests or with the concerns of agriculture, are also developing criticism of the circles in order to liquidate them or reduce them to insignificant groups rendering services to agriculture. We are in agreement with you and we express our opposition to such harmful intentions.

We are for strong, self-governing agricultural circles with genuine wide powers: rural housewives' circles and agricultural industrial associations. [applause] They have a tested 120-year practice and experience of effective work for the Polish countryside. Many activists have devoted their strength and passion for social action to this aim. And that counts for a great deal.

Above all, we support agricultural circles because their usefulness has been proved by experience and because the activists of those organizations best understand the needs of the countryside and can best represent its interests. They have experienced cadres and material assets which nobody can take away from them and which nobody else, apart from the circles, have at their disposal.

They unite, and have behind them, the vast majority of farmers, women and youth in rural areas. Our party is very interested in the development of the activities of agricultural circles and their unions and in the development within these organizations of the functions of representing the interests of rural areas and agriculture, the defense of farmer's and peasant's rights. We are watching with great attention the development and strengthening of agricultural self-government. We share the view that this self-government should be open to all--all the constructive forces of the Polish countryside. In this self-government there is room for every farmer, for all those who wish to organize themselves in order to represent and defend their social and professional interests. The self-government is becoming a firm yet flexible system; it is regaining full trust. We believe that the self-government should also have an integrating influence on the entire countryside, that it should facilitate the integration of all agriculture and all spheres of its services. Your self-governing movement is developing in that direction. We do not have to try to convince you of this: Agricultural circles and the association of women in rural areas are in operation in nearly every rural community.

They have a total membership of more than 2.8 million. Specialist unions and associations of farmers are also developing. It is a creative and constructive process which is the reason why we give it our full support. Tradition as well as current experience indicate that agricultural self-government cannot be isolated from economic activities and the provision of services. It is with an ear to the voices of farmers and those active in self-government that the draft bill on agricultural self-government has been prepared. We share your concern that this bill should fully correspond to the needs of the countryside and that it should be an act of major social significance. We expect your congress to make its valuable contribution to this bill. We regard your debates as the supreme forum for consultation on the subject of this document. We favor the bill on agricultural self-government--in the creation of which you yourselves have participated--giving equal rights to agricultural circles, associations of women in rural areas and the specialist associations of farmers.

The Polish countryside is vigorously engaging in the successful development of all forms of agricultural self-government, including the cooperatives. We are anxious about the dangerous attempts to bring disunity to the countryside, to weaken the unity of farmers and their joint action which is so necessary for the solution of many of our urgent problems.

It is important for all sensible people, and particularly those active in agricultural self-government, to know the ventures and the objectives of those who are trying to turn the countryside into a political battlefield. Their aims and intentions are testified to by the slogans which they proclaim, slogans which place individual farms in opposition to the socialist state and the countryside in opposition to the people's authority; slogans which undermine the alliance of the workers and peasants and our joint agricultural policy. Their aims and intentions are testified to by the attempts to split agricultural circles and other organizations of agricultural self-government. I am convinced that these sham politicians, these liquidators of agricultural circles will be rejected by the Polish countryside as has happened in history more than once. Our party will actively support you in this struggle. [applause]

We are far from being reconciled to the conditions in which Polish agriculture is operating, and social and welfare conditions in rural areas are far from satisfactory. But neither can we reconcile ourselves with demagogic assessments or total negation. Many solutions presently in force are imperfect and require modification. In accordance with the new guidelines of our farm policy, work has started and is well advanced on amending the farmers pensions law, and other decisions on social, educational and cultural affairs of the rural areas.

This is what you demanded during your precongress campaign. As a result of these demands, the social and welfare problems of rural areas are now well to the fore. We shall consistently concern ourselves with their implementation. We have already done a great deal. Above all, let me point out the decision dealing with land management, the decision in which the principle: land in the best farmers' hands, applies absolutely. All voivodas and all parish executive officers are obliged to stand by the maxim that no decision can be taken to sell land from the state land fund or to allocate land for nonfarming purposes without the agreement of rural self-government. [applause]

We shall also abolish those regulations which make it difficult for farmers to obtain land from each other, in order to make sure that land is always used for production in the best possible way. Also, on your initiative, work has started on the comprehensive system of prices, which takes full account of production costs and its proper profitability.

The recent price increases did not solve this problem because it is a broad problem, linked with the structure of prices throughout our economy. I know that yesterday, during his meeting with the top officials of agricultural circles, our premier at your suggestion, reported that new decisions favoring our farming have been taken.

The entire agricultural development fund has been entrusted to the agricultural circles and their union. We have also transferred the entire vocational education system [applause] to the Ministry of Agriculture, and several other important decisions have been made. But the main problem--and this has been stressed here both in your reports and discussions--is supplying agriculture with the means of production, with machines and spare parts, fertilizers, chemicals for the protection of plants, cement and other building materials, coal and fuels, and also tools and the things which every farm and household must have. These problems must be given better solutions; we must change the attitude toward these problems when we finalize production plans, industrial plans, and we also must have better discipline in the implementation of these plans.

We would like to achieve this as soon as possible. Several undertakings have been adopted. But the realities of our national economy, which are known generally, and especially the disturbances in regular production and limitations of raw materials and energy, make it difficult to achieve the necessary growth in production. We cannot agree with the fact that--and we pointed this out in our agricultural guidelines--our so-highly developed industry has failed to secure adequate supplies of means of agricultural production; or that just over 4 percent of its production capacity is working for our agriculture. We see in industrial activity an important precondition for agricultural development and a considerable increase in its production capabilities.

For this reason, in the current 5-year period the share of industry in producing the means of production for agriculture and the food processing industry is to be doubled. In a situation of general, considerable reduction in investment, we are increasing investment outlays on those areas of the national economy. They will rise from almost 20 percent in the past 5-year period to 30 percent in the current period.

We have, therefore, a program and we believe the possibilities of overcoming the food crisis in our country will come. In achieving that goal, we are counting very much on the involvement of agricultural self-government, the involvement of agricultural circles, of the entire countryside. We are counting on the deliberations of the seventh national congress of delegates of agricultural circles and organizations as a creative contribution to solving the problems of our countryside, of agriculture and the food economy; on their efforts to continue the development of traditional forms of work of agricultural circles in the countryside. Your tasks, therefore, are important in the areas of widening agricultural progress, work with young farmers, with young people, with rural children, and those tasks in the area of nurturing culture and popularization of agricultural education. Cooperate in these matters with youth organizations, with the union of Socialist Polish Youth, and with the newly-created Union of Rural Youth [ZMW].

We believe that your fruitful debate and the resolutions passed will become a program for all-round activity toward reversing the previous unfavorable trends in the development of agricultural production. The whole of Polish society is waiting with great hope today for greater production, better supplies of food. Your selfless work, the efforts of the whole Polish countryside, will be the best contribution to socialist renewal, to stabilizing our economy. They will serve to improve the standard of food supplies to the whole of society.

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, I would like to convey to you, men and women delegates to the congress, wishes for fruitful deliberations. May they strengthen the prestige of your organizations! May they further the creative use of all the social forces of the Polish countryside! [applause]

STATE COUNCIL DECIDES TO CONVENE SEJM 30 MARCH

LD241924 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] A session of the State Council has been held at the Belweder Palace. Stressing the seriousness of the situation in our country the State Council expressed full support for the statement by the Presidium of the all-Polish National Unity Front on 23 March.

It has been decided to convene the third session of the Sejm of the eighth term of office on 30 March.

At the session the plan of legislative work was reviewed. Implementation of this work will serve the cause of normalization of the life in our country and realization of the 10-point program of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

KKP VIEWS STRIKES DECISIONS, RAKOWSKI PROPOSALS

Strike Committee in Gdansk

LD242002 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Excerpts] At 1000 today, after a break of a few hours, an extraordinary session of the Solidarity union was resumed in Bydoszcz. The National Consultative Commission [KKP] unfortunately made a decision to carry out a strike action.

The KKP has proclaimed a warning strike for Friday, 27 March, and the date of a general strike has been fixed for Tuesday, 31 March. The strike on 31 March will be a sit-in strike and will begin with the first shift.

During the session of the KKP, three control centers of the National Strike Committee [Krajowy Komitet Strajkowy: KKS] were proposed: Gdansk, Bydgoszcz and Warsaw. By a vote, Gdansk was selected. The KKS will have its headquarters at the Gdansk shipyard.

Here are the proposals presented to the members of the KKP Presidium by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on Sunday, 22 March:

For the period of work of the commission called by Premier Jaruzelski to investigate and present conclusions concerning the events in Bydgoszcz, conditions should be created for the objective, calm conduct of work and the preparation of conclusions;

In connection with the catastrophic economic situation in Poland and in order to prevent the complete collapse of the economic system of our country and supplies to population it is essential:

1. To cease all kinds of strike action including strike alerts;

2. To ensure conditions for implementation of all the spring fieldwork, in particular sowing and ensuring the intensive work in enterprises which produce for agriculture;

3. To undertake intense efforts to increase exports because of the threat to imports which are essential for supplies to the domestic market of food, medicines and the purchase of raw and other materials for agriculture and industry;

4. To cease further increases in wage and welfare payments and to refrain from entering into new collective agreements as this threatens to result in a fall in real incomes and the further collapse of the market;

It is essential for stabilization and social calm, while continuing the process of renewal, to abstain from pressure on the leadership cadres in the administration, the economy and the political life.

Walesa Press Conference

LD242200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Excerpts] In Bydgoszcz, the 2-day deliberations of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity's extraordinary session have ended.

After the end of the session, there was a short press conference with Lech Walesa. The KKP chairman answered journalists' questions, which mainly concerned the union's immediate activity. He expressed the hope that the general strike, envisaged within the framework of strike action and planned for 31 March, will not be necessary providing the talks between Solidarity and the government yield satisfactory results.

SOLIDARITY, GOVERNMENT TO MEET IN WARSAW 25 MARCH

NC251058 Paris AFP in English 1048 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, March 25 (AFP)--The Polish independent trade union Solidarity this morning confirmed that urgent negotiations will begin with the government later today, in the shadow of a four-hour nationwide warning strike called for Friday.

The confirmation, from the Secretariat of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk, came as a government "Praesidium" of some ministers and all vice-ministers met here under Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The negotiations were due six days after violent worker-police scuffles at Bydgoszcz last Thursday sparked new nationwide tension.

Solidarity's subsequent warning strike call, agreed yesterday, was seen as a victory for its moderates led by Mr Walesa, against hardliners who wanted to pull workers off the job across the nation today as the negotiations began.

Today's negotiations were also expected to cover registration of a Rural Solidarity movement, government attitudes to opposition dissidents, and access by Solidarity to the media.

Walesa, Delegation Expected

LD251138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] It is expected that the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity with Lech Walesa will arrive in Warsaw this afternoon. In accordance with earlier decisions, talks will be resumed between Solidarity and the Council of Ministers Committee for Cooperation with Trade Unions headed by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

BYDGOSZCZ COUNCIL VIEWS EVENTS; CHAIRMAN TO RESIGN

LD241612 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] A meeting of the Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council has taken place in Bydgoszcz. It analyzed the proceedings and causes for the interruption of the debate on 19 March.

It is expected that the next meeting will hear a report of the government commission appointed by the premier and a statement by a representative of the Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz.

Chairman of the voivodship People's Council Edward Berger stated that at the next session he will submit his resignation from the post which he occupies.

YOUNG BYDGOSZCZ COUNCILLORS URGE OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE

LD241120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] A press conference held by members of the voivodship group of young councillors who took part last Thursday in the session of the voivodship People's Council took place in Bydgoszcz yesterday. After answering even the most detailed questions put by the journalists, the voivodship group of young councillors adopted the following stances:

In the first place it is necessary to establish who participated personally and at what level in the decisionmaking and action on the part of the political authorities, state and administrative authorities as well as on the part of NSZZ Solidarity, establishing their justification and legality. It is also necessary to indicate the persons responsible for the actions [word indistinct].

In the second place, we are submitting a motion to the State Council and to lawyers to establish strictly the legal aspects concerning the conduct and interruption of the session, and of the presence in the hall of the debate of a group of councillors and representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity.

We are outraged and we protest--the document of the members of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship group of young councillors states--against interfering with the councillors in their endeavors to complete efforts to achieve a successful solution of the conflict without the use of force.

We [word indistinct] to all councillors of the voivodship People's Council to adopt an attitude toward the actions of the chairman and the Presidium of the voivodship People's Council and the administrative authorities during the second part of the sixth session of the voivodship People's Council in Bydgoszcz.

We urge all councillors to make a full evaluation of the events which occurred on 19 March both in the political and social respects and in the personal respect. The people of Bydgoszcz Voivodship should rest assured that the voivodship People's Council discharges its duties in full as a state authority of voivodship level.

The young councillors have also appealed to the people of the voivodship and the country to adopt an objective attitude toward the events and not to yield to emotions and rumors. They have also expressed the hope that before the matter is finally clarified no attempts at socially damaging activities will be made.

At the same time at the same press conference the journalists were shown the resolution passed by the Presidium of the executive of the voivodship Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in Bydgoszcz which endorses the stand of the 45 councillors who made an attempt to resolve the tension through negotiation. The document also states that the sending of the forces of order into the debating hall was, in the opinion of the ZSMP voivodship executive, a clear departure from the adopted trend in the development of a democracy in our country. It also contains an appeal to the community, primarily to young people to maintain calm and [word indistinct].

BAFIA COMMISSION ANALYZES BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS MATERIAL

LD230511 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0330 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] PAP has learned that the government commission chaired by Justice Minister Jerzy Bafia, which was set up by the premier to investigate the Bydgoszcz events, spent all day yesterday analyzing the collected material and formulating its assessments and conclusions. They will find their way into a report being prepared for Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES AROUND COUNTRY VIEWED

LD241330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The country is living through days of a menacing social crisis in an atmosphere of tension and anxiety. Despite this, the workforces at production plants and municipal services are working normally. However, a state of strike readiness is continuing at many factories. Reports are coming in that certain interfactory founding committees of NSZZ Solidarity are turning into interfactory strike committees. Leaflets, appeals and posters being distributed in many towns are shaping people's moods. At the same time many workforces, party and social organizations, professional and creative artists associations are appealing in numerous resolutions for people to maintain social calm and for the conflicts to be settled through talks and agreement.

Thus, for instance, a plenum of the party works committee at the Gdansk refinery said in a declaration, among others, that they consider that the use of violence as an argument in the discussion cannot be tolerated and they demand that both sides stop using it. They demand that both sides observe the 90 days of calm and that full and honest information be given on the radio, television and in the press. Their position is that in the present situation any strike action cannot be tolerated.

In Warsaw, in accordance with a recommendation by the National Consultative Commission, the headquarters of NSZZ Solidarity of the Mazowsze region has been moved to the premises of the Ursus mechanical factory.

TU OFFICIAL ON MAZOWSZE SOLIDARITY RELOCATION

LD241646 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] In accordance with instructions from the National Consultative Commission, the headquarters of NSZZ Solidarity in the Mazowsze region has been transferred to the premises of the Ursus engineering plant in Warsaw.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] At Szpitalna Street No 2 in Warsaw: In the headquarters of the Interfactory Founding committee [MKZ] of Solidarity of the Mazowsze region, which is located here, a press conference has been given by the spokesman of the region on the subject of the current situation of the trade union:

[Unidentified spokesman] The national commission met again today and is debating the subject of possible future strike actions, the subject of when they would take place and how they would be staged in the event that the talks with the government due to start tomorrow do not produce satisfactory results. As for Mazowsze, the headquarters of the Mozawsze Presidium have already been transferred to the Ursus engineering plant. The office is, however, still functioning as an information center and as an office in which current matters are being dealt with. But, and I repeat yet again, the Presidium already has its headquarters at the Ursus engineering plant.

[Correspondent] When can one expect that the MKZ will return to its headquarters (?here near Szpitalna Street)?

[Spokesman] As soon as the constant tension dies down and when it turns out that the strike action is not needed. Let us hope that this will take place on Wednesday evening. [end recording]

MAZOWSZE TU OFFICIAL ON STRIKE-EXEMPT INDUSTRIES

LD242224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Speaking about the planned strike action, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for Mazowsze region Solidarity, stressed that trade and supplies, rail transporation, the health service, enterprises supplying water, electricity and gas and also those plants which recognize a work stoppage to be impossible or socially harmful, would be excluded from it.

PILA SOLIDARITY FORMS STRIKE COMMITTEE, RELOCATES

LD241802 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Koszalin--On the second day of the first general assembly of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity organizations in Pila, a nine-man presidium was elected from among the 6-man main board of the voivodship Solidarity organization.

In a secret ballot for chairman of the main board in Pila, former chairman of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] Eligiusz Maskowski was elected by 145 votes of 282 valid votes.

In connection with the further worsening of the situation in Poland and the possibility of a general strike being proclaimed, the general assembly decided to break off their deliberations on the second day. They instructed the presidium of the voivodship Solidarity board to convene the assembly at a new date in order to conclude the deliberations. It was decided to transform the presidium of the main board into an interfactory strike committee, extended by including the members of the presidium of the Solidarity factory committee in the railroad rolling stock repair plant in Pila. The plant commissions will transform themselves into factory strike committees. From today, the Interfactory Strike Committee set up by the general assembly is removing itself to headquarters in the premises of the Solidarity factory committee in the rolling stock repair plant in Pila.

JAWORZNO MKZ URGES QUICK OFFICIAL REPORT ON EVENTS

LD250200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] A plenary session of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] took place in Jaworzno at the headquarters of the NSZZ of the Glassmaking Industry Workers. The session drew up a draft charter of the glassmaking industry worker in the Polish People's Republic. It was decided to forward it for consultations with workforces employed in glass plants.

At the close of the session, the country's current social situation was discussed. A statement was issued which appeals to the relevant government bodies to publish as speedily as possible a full and thorough report on the events in Bydgoszcz and to bring consequences to bear on those who are to blame for these events.

SZCZECIN NEWSPAPER NOT PUBLISHED 23 MARCH

LD241344 Warsaw Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] [Dateline not supplied]--The Szczecin afternoon paper KURIER SZCZECINSKI failed to appear yesterday. The reason why readers were deprived of their popular paper was the strike in the newspaper department of the Szczecin printing works which made the publication of KURIER dependent on the withdrawal of a report on events in Bydgoszcz and on printing in its place a statement by the Interfactory Workers Committee of NSZZ Solidarity in Szczecin.

SD STATEMENT VIEWS CURRENT CRISIS, URGES CAUTION

LD250453 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] The Democratic Party (SD) Central Committee Presidium has published a statement in which it notes with alarm that the country's political situation has grown worse. This may entail catastrophic consequences for the nation and the state, for all those who really do desire positive changes.

The SD has lent its support in the Sejm to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's appeal for 90 days of calm work. Disruptions of social peace taking place during this period do irreparable damage to Poland and to Poles, making the prospect for cooling down tensions more remote.

The present social upheaval must be solved by way of negotiations, in accordance with the spirit of the social contract. Everyone must maintain caution, show good will and political acumen.

The statement reads that a speedy and conclusive determination and bringing to light of all the circumstances connected with the violation of the calm atmsophere constitutes the fundamental element of the (?current) process of restoring mutual confidence between the authorities and the public. This should put an end to attempts to manipulate public opinion. Complete respect for the law and legal ways of solving social conflicts is, as it always has been, a yardstick of patriotism and civic-minded responsibility of every Pole as far as SD members are concerned.

SCIENCES ACADEMY CONCERNED ABOUT BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS

LD242258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The main subject discussed by the presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] today was the initial draft of the new law on PAN. The scientists, however, also (?made) a statement referring to the present situation in Poland. They state that they are concerned at the disruption of the work program of Premier Jaruzelski's government--a program which has the general support of society.

The scientists go on to state: The practice of misinforming society is being maintained and is evoking growing bitterness. The events in Bydgoszcz harm the general social interests, the workers' trade union movement and the program of stabilization outlined by the government. The principle of social dialogue, worked out with effort, has been violated. Questions are being asked in society: Were all available possibilities of agreement exhausted? Are the victims in the hospital a sign of the use of force? The laws of the republic demand that this offence be punished. It is essentially to provide society with honest information about the steps taken and to ensure that these steps do not serve the narrow interests of (?circles) conflicting with the general national good.

Meeting With Premier Requested

LD250550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] held a session in Warsaw yesterday. The session was devoted to the initial draft of the new law on the PAN. Moreover, a statement was adopted referring to the current situation in the country. Presidium members express the hope that the talks between the government and the trade unions will be continued and that they will not only result in averting the dangers that threaten us all but will also create the basis for permanent and creative cooperation between the public, the government and the party.

The PAN Presidium decided to ask the premier for a meeting, to be held as soon as possible, in connection with the situation in the country.

BRATKOWSKI: PARTY OFFICIALS SEEKING TO TAKE POWER

OW250124 Hong Kong AFP in English 0105 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, March 25 (AFP)--A certain number of high communist party officials are seeking to take over the government and are trying to pit law enforcement officials and partisans of social reform against each other, Polish Journalists' Association President Stefan Bratkowski, a party member, charged in a letter released Tuesday.

He declined to name the officials, but said in an open letter to his colleagues, dated Monday, that the hard-liners were bent on taking power, and were seeking support from socialist neighbor countries.

Party First Secretary Stanislaw Kania, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, on the other hand, were seeking genuine reconciliation between the party and Poland's workers, Mr Bratkowski said.

"The situation is becoming more and more dramatic," he said. "We are entering a new crisis. Let us not delude ourselves. This is the... last chance for those who would turn our country away from the path of social accord, by sending our state and our society to an inevitable catastrophe."

"These people do not want an agreement, even with the party's base," he added. "(?They) wish to postpone the special congress (scheduled late last year to examine Poland's problems)."

"They want to develop in the party apparatus [words indistinct] party itself and of the nation," Mr Bratkowski said. "They are trying to pit law-enforcement forces against their own society. (And) they are presenting themselves to our neighbors as the only force capable of guaranteeing the permanence of our alliances and our regime.'

"Our hard-liners are not presenting any program, apart from confrontation and disinformation," he said. "They do not make any commitments other than crisis.

"Today, they are trying to drag the party leadership and the government toward a clash with the entire society, a clash that would have unpredictable consequences," he continued. "They are trying to provoke society to actions that would justify the use of force."

MEDIA COMMENTS ON BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS, DEVELOPMENTS

Szyndzielorz Commentary

LD251034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Karol Szyndzielorz commentary]

[Text] I am beginning to lose faith that we shall manage to get out of the crisis. In times such as these, cautious and reasonable people have less chance of making their voices heard than those who would rather square up to the opponent and go for confrontation. Radical or extreme slogans sound better and carry further. Moreover, they do not strike discordant notes with the mood in which disappointment, tiredness, irritation and exhaustion predominate. Hence, it is now easier to find an audience that will readily applaud a demonstration of force; it is easier to show the extent of one's influence than to buckle down to normal work and to go about peaceful resolution of even the most intricate matters.

Our fate is in our own hands. A local conflict has grown into a national dispute. Is it really just the issue of the three people beaten up in Bydgoszcz? Do we really have in mind just the union laws and respect for the immunity of the workers' representatives? Was the issue during this memorable Thursday session merely the right of free speech for all the participants?

We do not seek to justify those who permitted themselves to violate the law in Bydgoszcz. Efforts have been undertaken in order to explain all the circumstances of what happened and what is now an accomplished fact. We do not think that anyone has a right to escape with impunity, he who is guilty ought to be punished.

But can we, as Poles, allow a situation in which we cease to be masters in our own home? Might we unconsciously, or even consciously, throw ourselves into the whirlpool which is going to carry us all away, knowing that but not knowing on which shore we are going to end up?

We have at last a government and most of our nation agrees that this is the last chance cabinet. If Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski does not manage to implement his 10-point program presented to the Sejm, then really one just cannot comprehend what might happen to our country. After all, those 10-points contained were no miracles but just the fundamental needs of the working people and the entire country.

The 90 days of calm work were the first condition for implementation of this program. But in 3 months one could not possibly make up for the damage. Both Poland and the world looked at the program of Jaruzelski's government with great hopes. At last there was something that could stand on its own two feet; here at last there was realism, reason and action.

We are admired for our patriotism, our courage, our wisdom, our modern thinking and ability to resolve even the most difficult issues. Now, however, when a warning strike, or even a general strike perhaps, is in the offing, are we aware of all the consequences of our actions? Can their consequences be forseen today? What does the strike solve?

Each one of us has felt our strength and our impotence--the strength when with fellow workers we attempted jointly to change what was not right, even if such action included striking, the impotence when with broken hearts we had to agree to joint actions which seemed contrary to our own interests, the interests of our factories, the interests of the community.

We wrote immediately after the events in Bydgoszcz: It is very difficult today to translate into the language of individual and joint action the feeling of responsibility for the fate of the fatherland. But such an effort must be undertaken by everyone; nobody else will do it for us.

We appeal to sober-mindedness and reason, to wisdom and caution. We cannot and we must not gamble everything we have.

Malczynski on 25 Mar Talks

LD251220 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Commentary by Jerzy Malczynski]

[Text] The decisive majority of Polish society is waiting in hope for the results of the talks to be renewed in Warsaw today. These talks may bring the solution which determines whether our country will follow the road of socialist renewal or whether the local conflicts and the recently increasing number of incidents will so absorb us all that we will again get bogged down in chaos and disorganization.

It is probably for the first time since last August that the talks will be held in such a difficult, tense atmosphere. In addition, the sides (?meeting) at the conference table have such a different concept of their responsibility for our country's fate.

We all know that Poland's economic situation is very difficult. The only way out of the crisis is through hard work, concern for the common good and opposition to social tensions, with at the same time a radical democratization of life in our country. All other solutions will lead inevitably to a deepening of the economic crisis through a really serious and dangerous political crisis for the country.

Why do I think that the coinciding of these two crises is so dangerous? The answer is simple: A political crisis paralyzes the authorities and only an efficient, consistent system of government has a chance of organizing social life in such a way that opportunities arise for a way out of the economic depression. Similarly, the entire system of negotiations and agreement on goals is a guarantee of the implementation of the fundamental principles of social justice and socialist democracy, and this law and its effective implementation applies to everyone.

We will enter a period in which, instead of considering how to meet the needs of various social groups, we will consider how to apportion an insufficiency. I only hope that we do not, in the fall, have to consider how to share out famine.

After these general reflections, let us return to the events of the day. Can one, as Stanislaw Kania put it from the podium of the national congress of agricultural circles' delegates, encourage the countryside to strike, threaten a farmers' strike in the name of shortsighted political goals, in a situation of food scarcity? Who can have the nerve to turn a local incident into an issue threatening a national disaster?

On the day before the renewal of the talks with the government Commission for Trade Union Affairs, a 4-hour warning strike was announced for Friday, and on Tuesday a strike proper is to take place if the government does not meet the strikers' demands.

The demands of the strikers, or at least some of them, are worded in extreme terms. For instance here is Point Three of the demands: We demand that an act of abolition be prepared, that prosecution against people who conducted opposition activities in 1976-80 be abandoned, even if in the light of the law such activity was formally against the law. End of quote.

The laws can be changed by the Sejm and the activities of the prosecutor's office and the courts are simply in implementation of the law. I think that really nobody wants the principle to be introduced into the country's political and social life that it is agreed in advance which parts of the law are to be applied or not applied and in what form, especially after the fact. Therefore it will be difficult for the government committee to satisfy this strike demand. What will happen then?

Is it really difficult to accept that both sides are equally interested in reaching agreement and that both feel equally responsible for the fate of our country? Instead of the argument about the essence of the matter, an argument of ambitions begins. We know from our history that this sort of thing has never been good for us. We hope, however, that reason and calm will prevail in reaching agreement on the most difficult matters.

I believe that in spite of nervousness and tensions it will be possible to separate what is important for everyone from what is important only to small groups who want to demonstrate that they have more say than others. I believe that two things will happen: The true rights and interests of the Solidarity members will win and that to the same extent the political authorities will solidly perform their duty of serving the nation. Both sides will find it easier to confirm the correctness of my assumptions in the climate of calm and solid work of all of us.

Need for Dialogue Stressed

LD241556 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Nine months of life in a state of tension and uncertainty about the future could not make anyone expect that the road of renewal would be free from arguments and difficulties. However, we (?would) wish for dialogue both by the authorities and Solidarity. The examples of Radom and Bielsko-Biala made it patently obvious that tensions can be overcome through discussions and through the conviction that both partners are exhibiting good will.

The events in Bydgoszcz have interrupted the dialogue. Group interests, ambitions and resentment came to the fore in the hall. No one can now give a clear and full representation of the truth or point a finger at the partner guilty of causing the current most serious sociopolitical crisis in Poland. The restoration of an atmosphere of calm and order is absolutely necessary. This appeal should be taken up by both partners. Let us hope that the dialogue has been discontinued (?only temporarily).

In our system--and we all advocate a socialist renewal--authority should, because it represents the interests of working people and the whole nation, seek a compromise for the good of higher aims. After all, this is what was contained in the statement of the party Central Committee Politburo. One cannot operate using just unilateral arguments. These are harmful both to the authorities and to the party which is now being unjustifiably accused of being responsible for all the bad things taking place in the country.

There is no doubt--and this is expressed for instance, in the resolution of the party members of the Krakow "Kuznica" club--that the Bydgoszcz events must be thoroughly clarified, that it must be established who is guilty, and that those guilty must be punished no matter who the perpetrators and instigators might be.

The deputies from the Bydgoszcz area clearly said in their appeal to the inhabitants of the voivodship that the government commission will define, on the basis of the events that occurred, a stand which will make it possible to carry out a correct assessment of the situation and thus to point out specifically those who are guilty. They also expressed the conviction that those who are guilty would be made legally responsible.

Calm and a continuation of the dialogue are the supreme need for all of us. We would like to be sure that there are and will be enough forces in society to put a resolute stop to further troubles, no matter where they originate. There is and can be no issue on which compromises cannot be reached. The only superior and most important issue is responsibility toward the nation.

Averted Confrontation Hoped

LD250503 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] Concern is growing daily for the fate of the renewal process, for the fatherland's future. It is difficult to work in the heated and nervous atmosphere, in conditions of strike alert declared in numerous workplaces.

Despite this, production plants and municipal services, transportation and supplies did operate normally to a certain extent yesterday. Workers collectives, party organizations, trade union and youth organizations, professional and artistic associations appeal in many resolutions to maintain public order, to resolve conflicts solely by way of talks and agreements.

The results of talks to be resumed today between a Solidarity delegation and government representatives are being awaited with the hope that the threat of confrontation can be averted.

Workforces Displaying 'Maturity'

LD250809 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] A state of tension reigns in the country. The sociopolitical crisis, exacerbated by the events in Bydgoszcz, influences the mood, creating an atmosphere of nervousness. The strike alert proclaimed by NSZZ Solidarity continues. Its distinguishing feature is the maturity and sense of responsibility displayed by the workforces. There were no stoppages at work anywhere yesterday; production processes were not halted.

Krakow Editor Interviewed

LD232346 Paris Domestic Service in French 1820 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Interview with (Stefan Wilkanowicz), "A Solidarity Worker in Krakow" and editor in chief of the Krakow monthly periodical, ZNAK; conducted by Didier Lecat of "The Phone is Ringing" program--live]

[Excerpts] [Lecat] Good evening. As you know Lech Walesa was due to be here this evening to reply to your questions on Poland. I think his visit has only been postponed and that we shall have the opportunity of receiving him in this studio.

[Phone-in listener] I would like to ask the Polish delegate the following question: Do you think that if your government realized that it should abandon communism for the sake of your country's happiness and progress and return to, a let us say more moderate, more liberal regime, would it have the courage and intelligence to abandon communism in order to return to a, let us say more sensible, more rational state of affairs?

[Lecat] I would add another question which is quite similar, I think, to this question, and completes it: Does Solidarity have a political objective?

[Answer] It is really a very difficult question, but I do not think the question should be asked in this way. Neither the government nor Solidarity wants either to leave the socialist camp or to return to capitalism; that is impossible. What everyone, what all sensible people, all reasonable people want is to bring about certain reforms--not even violent or sudden reforms--but to begin a process of democratization.

As for me, I naturally prefer democratization and I readily use the formula of the socialization of the state.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because up until the events of last summer we were engaged in perhaps another process, a much more serious one, I mean a sort of establishment of state control of society, that is, society was becoming more and more dependent.

[Question] Now you are going in the right direction?

[Answer] Yes. Now it is the (?state) which has been turned completely upside down. It is not a problem of communism, it is one of democratization and real socialization.

[Question] You do not want power?

[Answer] No, not at all. I am convinced of it. I do not represent Solidarity, far from that. I am only speaking for my own modest self. I think Solidarity wants to remain a trade union. By force of circumstance it has become a political force--which is inevitable--but this political force has no wish to transform itself into a political party that wants to take power and impose its power on the country, far from that.

[Lecat] (Stefan Wilkanowicz), I will summarize the question--thank you, madam [listener]. Do the Poles in Poland today really fear intervention by Soviet troops, as is often said in the West, or even intervention by the Warsaw Pact troops?

[Answer] Much less than in the West, at any rate.

[Question] Explain yourself because it is difficult to understand.

[Answer] Of course. You know it is perhaps a little difficult to explain by developed reasoning: We have a certain sensitivity, a certain experience, there are simple reasons. Poland does not want to leave the socialist camp; Poland does not want to return to capitalism. Of course, reforms may worry many people, including our neighbors. That is normal. But anyway, if we are calm, firm and determined to follow this path, then I think there is every chance of finding a solution which is acceptable for everyone. I am not speaking on behalf of all Poles but I have always noted that, particularly in the West, people fear this more than in Poland.

[Question] Yes, but one should recall all the same that Solidarity has not, of course, gained power; has not achieved everything that Lech Walesa and his friends, and you yourself, wished for; has not obtained the response to the main demands which was hoped for in the beginning. After all, you are fighting the current powers-that-be, so you are in a somewhat difficult position today; you have not got what you wanted.

[Answer] No, but on the other hand one must say progress is being made.

[Question] Do you have the impression that you have made progress on this path toward freedom of expression, or do you think that despite your struggles you have not advanced.

[Answer] Of course we have, that is clear.

[Question] Give me some examples.

[Answer] Surely. For example, in my magazine I can publish articles which a year or several years ago would have been confiscated. Now, the articles pass; I publish them one after the other. It is very interesting that in the law--the draft law on censorship--agreement has already been reached on certain limitations, limitations which are really exceptional, for this draft law has been discussed by the government, intellectual circles and also by the Episcopate.

[Question] That allows me ask you a question on the influence of Catholicism, the Catholic Church, perhaps also of Pope John Paul II who pays much attention to Poland and who has often expressed his worries about it. It is no secret to say you are close to John Paul II. You knew him well in Krakow. What is the real influence of the church today, and do the political powers, for example, fear not religious power but rather the influence of the Catholic hierachy?

[Answer] It is a moderating element. I always repeat this: I think the role of the church--that is of the Episcopate above all, since it is the Episcopate which represents the church--that the role of the Episcopate is always a double one. On the one hand, it has always to fight for justice, freedom, human rights, but at the same time to prevent a catastrophe, that is, to act as a moderating agent.

[Question] I would like to know if--as one senses that you are quite determined, one senses that you are also very conscious of all the events happening both in Poland as well as outside it--do you have the impression that Solidarity on its own can resist the Soviet Union, can resist pressure from outside, can resist the Warsaw rulers?

[Answer] It is very difficult to reply to that question but I should simply say that, personally, I do not believe the Soviet Union will intervene.

[Question] Why not? Will you tell me why not?

[Answer] Because I do not really see there is sufficient cause for that, and there would be very great risks. And then there is something else which is perhaps difficult to explain because, you know, it is a question of a certain intuition, a certain experience. I would say my intuition tells me that this will not happen. That is all I can reply. Perhaps I am saying too little.

[Question] It is the experience of history?

[Answer] Yes, it is the experience of all that, a certain intuition, it is also a certain experience of the international situation. Well, I do not think (?it will happen).

[Question] What do you hope for most today, what do you have to achieve very rapidly in order to ward off danger and advance yourself further on the path of socialism which you want, of a certain sort of society which you defined earlier on? What has to be done?

[Answer] You know, I really want a certain calmness, that is, I think what should really be wished for is to avoid local conflicts--which are quite understandable because usually these local conflicts occur because of certain people who are in power in certain regions, towns or even villages.

[Question] You tell your members not to go on strike?

[Answer] Really, I think strikes should only be resorted to in extreme cases but it is the one way to defend ourselves. But I think it is desirable to avoid these local conflicts, but at the same time it is very important to progress in juridical and institutional reconstruction. Having said that, there is already a series of draft laws. Well, these laws must be passed, they must be voted, they must be put into practice.

There is also another problem, a really very important one--Rural Solidarity. I stress that because it is very important. We will not get our of our economic crisis unless we really give true self-management to the farmers.

Verge of State of Emergency

LD241451 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Mar 81 pp 1, 3

[Bernard Margueritte Warsaw Dispatch: "Poland--Crucial Hours"]

[Excerpts] Two days--Saturday and Sunday--were devoted by party and government moderates on the one hand and Solidarity and Church moderates on the other to efforts to do everything possible to try to safeguard "the alliance of reasonable and responsible people" which is the only solution likely to save the country from tragedy and adventure.

Following several hours of talks between Solidarity and the government, it was agreed yesterday to postpone the discussions and to resume them on Wednesday. In fact, government spokesman Barecki told me, representatives of the authorities have stated that no decision could be made before the inquiry commission has concluded its work in Bydgoszcz. Mr Barecki declared himself pleased with the turn taken by the talks which were marked, he said, "by both sides" desire to find a solution and prevent any events whose consequences could be incalculable and which could plunge the country into a catastrophe." Referring to the Bydgoszcz incidents, the government spokesman added an interesting detail--it has already been established that the Solidarity members hurt on Thursday were not hurt by any militiamen wearing uniforms.

The Solidarity side seemed less pleased last night, but it was announced that the trade union national commission will meet in Warsaw today to consider the situation. However, it appears that no strikes are to take place in the immediate future, that is, before talks with the government are concluded. Solidarity representatives have also let it be known that Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski told them that the Warsaw Pact maneuvers started a week ago were being extended because of the situation prevailing in Poland. In any event it was announced on Sunday night that General Jaruzelski had met Warsaw Pact Commander in Chief Marshal Kulikov.

Yesterday afternoon, on his arrival at the Council of Ministers building, Lech Walesa, who led a delegation which was about to meet government officials led by Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski, stated that he was approaching these talks with "good will" and that he was optimistic as to their results. This confirmed what Mr Walesa had already told General Jaruzelski during a telephone conversation, when he confirmed that he supported the government and was personally against any resumption of strikes.

As for the Solidarity national commission, it demanded that full light be shed on the Bydgoszcz events, that people responsible for police excesses be punished and that, furthermore, the hardline party first secretary, the deputy voivoda and the militia commander be dismissed. At the same time, the commission asked the workers to act "in a calm, prudent and disciplined manner" and added: "We must not let emotions get the better of our sense of proportion and of reason."

Poland's Primate Cardinal Wyszynski broadcast an appeal to the country yesterday asking both the government and public opinion to show more sense of responsibility, entreating the authorities to be "more aware of their duty to show respect for law and civil liberty" and urging the population to "show restraint and remain calm."

Be that as it may, further provocations remain a possibility. In fact, this could be observed on Saturday when several hundred high school and university students demonstrated in the old city square, burning exercise books and, especially, Russian textbooks and chanting anti-Soviet slogans and slogans hostile to what they called "Jaruzelski's terror government." Such provocations are especially dangerous because there are still many extremists within both the party and Solidarity who do not conceal their hostility to the "alliance of reasonable people" so dear to Kania.

As recently as Saturday the Warsaw party organization, which remains one of the most "hard line," denounced in severe terms what it sees as increasingly frequent attacks against people's power in the country. In any event, according to some persistent rumors in Warsaw, a state of emergency was about to be declared on the night of Friday-Saturday, with a general appointed as head of a crisis committee. It appears that Kania was able to avoid making a final decision only because Solidarity adopted a more flexible stand.

This is why talks between Rakowski and Walesa constitute one of the last chances of consolidating the alliance of moderates which has taken shape in recent weeks. Both the government and Solidarity realize that they have found themselves in the same boat. With the Church's support, they are determined to do everything in their power to prevent any victory by extremists, which would undoubtedly plunge the country into chaos. The latest crisis could even prove beneficial if it were to teach government, Solidarity and the Church leaders how to thwart any provocations prepared by extremists hostile to the "alliance of reasonable and responsible people."

'ACUTE' FOOD SHORTAGES REPORTED IN TRICITY

LD241946 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Enormous lines have formed at shops in the tricity. There is an acute shortage of food. In market places potatoes are reaching the price of between Z20 and Z22 per kilogram. The voivoda of Gdansk has ordered all food to be rationed. There is also a shortage of bread.

SALE OF BREAD, MILK RESTRICTED IN SLUPSK 24 MAR

LD242138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The Polish Press Agency reports that as from today, the sale of bread in Slupsk will be limited to a single loaf and of milk to one liter per customer. PAP also reports that the sale of alcohol has been banned in many voivodships.

BARCIKOWSKI ADDRESSES RURAL YOUTH CONGRESS 20 MAR

AU241636 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Mar 81 p 2

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 20 March Warsaw session of the first national congress of the Rural Youth Union]

[Text] Having greeted the congress on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, K. Barcikowski stressed that he did so with personal pleasure. Our party is pleased to greet the rehabilitating Rural Youth Union as a representative of the young generation of peasants and farm employees, and as an organization capable of enriching the rural areas and our country's social life with its enduring values and its own social and educational achievements. May you continue your predecessors' work in that regard, he said.

The inclusion of your union in an overall youth organization, at one time, was an error because the rural areas' social life became impoverished. Let us note that that inclusion was part of a more general tendency to curb and reduce the influence and position of self-governing organizations and institutions. The administrative apparatus exceeded its powers and interfered in the areas of proper social activities to the cost of self-governing organizations. That also harmed the rural community because it curbed its influence on administrative activity and harmed the people's state because its social base was dangerously narrowed.

Together with the ZSL, we rejected that pseudotheory of the bureaucratic state in favor of reconstructing and developing self-governing organizations and institutions, which is now bearing fruit in rural areas: Agricultural circles and organizations, including the branch associations of producers, all kinds of farm cooperatives and so on, are being reborn in a new form. [paragraph continues]

In that connection we believe that all those activities should be permanent and should be enshrined in a law. Hence the idea of the agricultural self-government law, a draft of which has been submitted for consultation following the first reading in the Sejm and of the new law on people's councils. The law will create legal and material foundations of territorial self-government and will define anew the councils' powers as bodies of the people's government. This is consistent with our profound conviction that only power that is backed by citizens' meaningful and legal government activities is strong and stable.

I have no doubt, K. Barcikowski continued, that your union will take its proper place within the system of rural organizations and will find enough room for activity within agricultural self-government bodies.

Discussing the traditions and achievements of the rural youth movement, which has proved its efficiency in various spheres of life, and referring to his own activity in the Rural Youth Union, K. Barcikowski stressed that the union is recovering its prowess in these difficult times for our country. It is natural that, because of the rrrors of socioeconomic policy and because of the present difficulties, our sociopolitical life is being dominated by criticism, which is often harmful to meaningful and positive activities to improve the situation. As for me, I give priority to constructive criticism that tells us what has to be done. I give priority to efforts to search for ways and means to do what has to be done. This is not a flight from the duty to evaluate the past. Such evaluation is necessary to draw the right conclusions, and to sum up the findings openly. Nevertheless, it is necessary to think and search for solutions for the sake of the future, which will give us as much as we deserve through our wise efforts.

I do not accept, K. Barcikowski continued, feverish criticism of everything, including the results of farm policy in the past 10 years and in the entire period of People's Poland. That policy was marked by periods more or less favorable to farming, but on the whole the Polish village has made considerable progress, which would no doubt have been greater but for the periodic failures in farm policy and its implementation.

In 1971 our party and the ZSL adopted farm policy principles that produced considerable rural progress in 1971-75. Recalling the most important economic and social achievements of that period, K. Barcikowski said that the troubles that began in farm production and rural life in the second half of the seventies were caused not so much by errors of farm policy as, in his view, by delays in the development of agricultural industries and by errors in the administration of lands owned by the state land fund. This caused restrictions on peasant self-government groups' powers and the increasing arbitrariness of administrative decisions. The further result of all that was shaken credibility in farm policy, increasing uncertainty about the assets owned by farmers, and the manifestations of corruption, bribery and so-called easy channels through which to settle one's business. However, I have the right and even the moral duty to assert that those processes were occurring against the views of the leading agricultural functionaries of the PZPR and ZSL. Fully justified proposals and demands submitted by agricultural functionaries were often ignored or rejected because of a shortsighted approach to the development of industry, which at that time enjoyed absolute priority. Society and the party rejected that practice in the summer of 1980.

The directives of farm policy and rural development, worked out in common by the PZPR and ZSL, were some of the first measures taken by the authorities, which were revising sociopolitical policy, K. Barcikowski stressed. These directives were finally adopted following changes and additions demanded through discussions. Stressing the leading ideas and importance of the decisions contained in those directives, K. Barcikowski said that they present a sweeping program for all spheres of rural life. We are being confronted with various demands and postulates, but I must note that no one has submitted a better and fuller program as yet. The material demands and postulates in question had been incorporated in the program before they were submitted. They will be met gradually. We think that it is necessary to preserve the unity of social and trade union agricultural organizations because their disruption must lead to a political struggle in rural areas--with all the results of this for agriculture and the country. We are conscious of the difficulties in providing supplies for agriculture.

In the case of seeds and seedlings these difficulties have been occasioned by the catastrophic harvest in 1980. In the case of industrial means of production, they have been occasioned by a large decrease in coal production and general production. He who really wants to help our agriculture must help increase the production of the industrial goods agriculture needs. Any upset in that regard harms agriculture.

The Rural Youth Union, K. Barcikowski continued, is being organized as an ideological-educational organization of modern rural youth. Regarding with esteem your predecessors' achievements and drawing for inspiration on their rich experience, you must see that your programmatic principles are consistent with rural youth's present expectations and needs. Your union's ranks will produce young activists in the PZPR, the ZSL and the socio-economic and self-governing agricultural organizations. Your union's activity will produce the rural areas' present and future, in keeping with the potential of the young generation. That is why it is necessary to educate people in the work of rural areas and agriculture--people of high social awareness, considerable knowledge, crystal-clear characters and mature ideological-moral attitudes. All this determines the great and irreplaceable values of youth organizations' activity. Service to the rural areas and socialist Poland is the road that leads to just such an upbringing.

Your union is joining the family of Polish youth organizations working for the development of the Polish People's Republic. I have no doubt that it will be well accepted by that family, despite initial misunderstandings, which happens in normal families, but which does not deny the value of family ties. What is decisive is the community of goals and the need for mutual cooperation among young people from various environments. In our system, cooperation between worker and peasant young people in the name of the general principles of socialism and the worker-peasant alliance is especially important.

PZPR CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION MEETS IN WARSAW

LD242340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The Presidium of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission held a session in Warsaw today to discuss the implementation of its work program in the period preceeding the Ninth PZPR Congress, and its current tasks. The commission also discussed the draft theses of the Central Auditing Commission's report for the ninth congress and organizational matters linked with convening a plenary session of the commission.

EEC MEETING, DECLARATION ON AID TO COUNTRY NOTED

LD250748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] A meeting of EEC leaders has ended in Maastricht, The Netherlands. The meeting did not bring about any progress as far as solving conflicting issues within the community is concerned. [Word indistinct] commentators emphasize that the meeting did not exacerbate them either. The EEC leaders declared their readiness, in cooperation with other states, to give Poland economic aid and to support the Polish nation's efforts aimed at lifting the country out of its crisis.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0600 GMT on 25 March carries a report on the EEC leaders meeting which is identical except that it adds the following paragraph:

["It was emphasized that this aid is not meant to be interpreted as interference in our country's internal affairs. In the opinion of those assembled, the aid serves the interests of the Polish nation and stabilization in Europe."]

More on Declaration

LD250758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] One of the main topics under discussion during the last day of the conference of heads of EEC countries held in The Netherlands town Maastricht was the assessment of the situation in Poland.

Gravest concern was expressed for the possible consequences of the development of events in Poland for Europe and the world. In a declaration that has been adopted, heads of EEC states and governments confirmed fully their position formulated during the December summit in Luxembourg when it was emphatically stated that Poles should be able to solve their own problems on their own, without any outside interference whatever, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the CSCE. The interests of both the Polish nation and of Europe demand this. Heads of EEC countries have stated they are ready, in cooperation with other states, to give Poland economic aid to enable the country to get out of the crisis.

WESTERN MEDIA REPORTS ON BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS CITED

LD240443 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0330 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Many foreign commentaries are clearly very interested in the way events are developing in Poland. No doubts are being entertained abroad on how negatively the situation in Poland can influence the process of detente in Europe and the world.

AFP emphasizes that Polish public opinion is unanimous in wishing to have the circumstances of the Bydgoszcz incident explained and to make sure that the dialogue between the trade unions and the government is not broken off at any price. Reporting the events in Bydgoszcz, French dailies state that the government is not treating the incident lightly while the way Solidarity is acting clearly proves that it wishes to control the reaction of the working people and to confine this reaction within a sensible framework. LE MONDE states in its editorial article that the responsible attitude of the highest authorities, who have promised vigorous investigation, the moderation shown by Lech Walesa and the traditional understanding attitude of the church make it possible to hope that this serious incident will be overcome.

The West German KOELNER-STADT ANZEIGER stated yesterday that a resolution of the Polish crisis by methods other than political partnership would be tantamount to the end of East-West cooperation for a period the length of which was difficult to foresee. Banking and industrial circles close to the Washington administration are also keeping a close watch on the situation in Poland. Decisions on U.S. economic aid for our country will depend, to a significant extent, upon their attitude.

UNDER SECRETARY BLAMES WEST FOR DECLINING RELATIONS

LD241630 Warsaw PAP in English 1504 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Mar (PAP)--In an article on the main directions of Poland's foreign policy, published in the PUWP CC theoretical and political organ NOWE DROGI, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Wiejacz wrote: "I see the basic reason for the recent decline of the international situation in a buildup of activity by reactionary and militarist circles in the West aimed at upsetting the existent strategic and military balance between the East and West.

"There is a tendency--especially in Western militarist circles--to step up the arms race in the hope of gaining military superiority and in order to lead a policy from the positions of force--though such a policy is a mere illusion in conditions of strategic and military equality. Another negative influence on the international scene is the conflict-breeding, big-power and anti-detente policy pursued by China. Increasing political and ideological subversion against the socialist states, attempts to interfere in their domestic affairs and fanning panic round the alleged threat from the Warsaw Treaty states all serve to poison the international climate and impair confidence.

"The events in Poland and the situation here have been and continue to be a topic of wide interest abroad, bringing forth various kinds of reactions. This is understandable when one considers Poland's role and place in the socialist community and in Europe, as well as what Poland's situation implies in the international sense.

"Spreading destabilization in a neuralgic spot of Europe would constitute a potential threat for the continent's strategic situation, with all the negative consequences for detente and cooperation. A consistent continuation of the process of socialist renewal is of basic importance for developing Poland's strength and security as a member of the socialist community.

At the same time, this is of crucial importance for the security and unity of the entire community and for stability in Europe. The process of socialist renewal is also an important condition for effectively carrying out the tasks facing Poland's foreign policy. The realization of the set programme is helped by the understanding, support and aid given Poland by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist states."

Wiejacz described the basic principles of Poland's foreign policy, unchanged since the birth of People's Poland, in the following way: alliance, friendship and brotherhood, as well as all-round cooperation with the socialist states, based on equality and internationalist solidarity. Also support for and solidarity with national liberation forces, forces fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism, cooperation with states having different social systems based on peaceful coexistence.

SZYSZKA, DELEGATION ATTEND BERLIN WFTU SESSION

LD250737 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 25 Mar 81

[Text] The session of the WFTU congress will be continued in the GDR capital Berlin. Delegations of trade unions from 30 European, African, Asian and Latin American countries are taking part.

Poland is represented by a consultative commission of branch trade unions delegation headed by Albin Szyszka, chairman of the commission.

COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED ON CZYREK NORWAY VISIT

AU201220 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Mar 81 p 7

["Joint Communique" issued in Oslo on the 16-17 March official visit to Norway by Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek]

[Text] PAP, Oslo--At the invitation of Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Frydelund, Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek paid an official visit to Norway on 16-17 March 1981.

Minister Czyrek was received by King Olaf 5th of Norway and Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland.

The talks between the two foreign ministers were held in a friendly and constructive manner, in keeping with the traditions of Polish-Norwegian relations.

The two ministers exchanged views on international issues, including in particular East-West relations, European security and cooperation and the state of and prospects for further development of Polish-Norwegian relations.

The two ministers expressed their profound concern for the deteriorating international situation and stressed the need to continue the policy of detente, of strengthening international relations distinguished for mutual trust and respect and of promoting equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. In that connection they stressed the importance of the full observance of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

The ministers confirmed the importance they attach to achieving specific and constructive results by the Madrid meeting, also regarding military aspects of security.

In that context they emphasized the importance their countries attach to convening a conference on the military aspects of security in Europe. They expressed the hope that the Madrid meeting would make appropriate decisions in that regard.

They reaffirmed the need to continue the CSCE process and expressed complete determination to continue efforts for this purpose.

They stressed the urgent need to halt the arms race, in which connection they emphasized the importance of the principle of equal security at the lowest possible level of armaments.

They declared themselves for the earliest possible resumption of the SALT process by the United States and the USSR and for progress in that regard.

In particular, the two ministers stressed the importance of speedy resumption of the Geneva talks on reductions in nuclear weapons in Europe.

They expressed the hope that the Vienna talks on mutual reductions in armed forces and armament in central Europe would soon produce results acceptable to all participants.

Reviewing bilateral relations, the two ministers expressed satisfaction over their favorable development.

The two ministers agreed that the Norwegian-Polish dialogue helps intensify mutual understanding and cooperation between the two nations and constitutes a crucial contribution to international cooperation.

The two ministers declared themselves for continuing that dialogue at all levels.

The ministers reviewed bilateral economic relations in the light of the existing accords and agreed that they help promote development of mutually advantageous economic relations and that further efforts should be made to support development and diversification of trade.

The two ministers stressed their countries' wish to expand cooperation in science, education and culture.

They expressed satisfaction with the measures to expand and diversify the traditionally effective cooperation as provided for by the cultural accord.

Minister Czyrek invited Minister Knut Frydenlund to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

BRIEFS

PZPR BUILDING TO STUDENTS--The leadership of the Rzeszow Voivodship PZPR Committee has decided to make the voivodship ideological training center building available to students of the Rzeszow branch of Maria Sklodowska-Curie University in Lublin, due to the fact that the branch has difficulties operating within its own premises which are too small. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 22 Mar 81 LD]

TRAINING UNION CONFERENCE--The first national conference of delegates of the NSZZ of Professional Training Establishments' Employees was held in Lodz. Apart from affirming the statue and program of activity, the conference passed a resolution on cooperation among trade unions and announced that it has joined the interim commission for cooperation among autonomous trade unions. Union officials were elected; the chairman is (Adam Kaczmarski) from Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Mar 81 LD]

NEPAL AMBASSADOR FAREWELL--PAP--On 5 March Z. Tomal, State Council deputy chairman, received at a farewell audience in the Belweder Gyanendra Bahadur Karki, ambassador of the Kingdom of Nepal to Poland. On the same day the ambassador paid a farewell visit to the completion of his mission to T. Olechowski, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Mar 81 p 2 AU]

POLITIKA CITES PIPES' ALTERNATIVES; HAIG ENIGMATIC

AU241618 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 81 p 1

[Report by permanent correspondent J. Gustincic]

[Excerpts] New York, 20 Mar--In the Senate yesterday, it was expected that Secretary of State Haig would disperse the fog that is enveloping the new foreign policy. This policy is described as militant, determined and consistent in the defense of U.S. interests as understood by the Reagan administration.

Militant Statements Prevail

Last Friday, Haig gloomily drew attention to the dangers stemming from the Warsaw Pact maneuvers in Poland. Yet at the beginning of this week, the State Department stated that it was no longer alarmed and that it did not believe in the inevitability of a deteriorated situation in connection with Poland.

Militant statements continue to prevail, perhaps more so the nearer Congress is to discussing the enormous increase in the budget for the Army. On her part, Jeane Kirkpatrick, new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, lets it be known that America not only obtained a new administration but also an administration with a completely new mission in the world.

Public opinion has been stirred, particularly yesterday when REUTER carried an interview with Professor Pipes, member of the National Security Council. The interview states in black and white: "The Soviet leaders have a choice between peacefully changing the communist system in the direction taken by the West, and war. There is no other alternative, but things can develop one way or another." The White House, as well as Haig personally, disassociated themselves from this.

On the same day, Walter Stoessel, under secretary of state for political affairs, repeated publicly on Capitol Hill the mysterious thesis that in opposing the alleged Cuban supply of the El Salvador leftwing and the flaring up of unrest in Central America, the United States would not shrink from using any means, not even military. Also, the newspaper Washington POST published a report--which has neither been confirmed nor denied--that the administration will invite South African Prime Minister Botha, the first South African statesman that has been officially accepted since 1945.

In this atmosphere, on Capitol Hill yesterday Haig said a number of interesting things, but the atmosphere will continue to be described as unclarified. This has been confirmed best by a statement made by Haig himself when, in reply to a question on how much truth there is in Stoessel's statement on Cuba, he enigmatically said that America was "discussing a number of possibilities," but then added in a conciliatory manner:

"No decision has been made. The President has not yet chosen a political line. Such a line has not yet been submitted to him."

Had this been said about Carter, a commotion would immediately have been raised that the President had no stand.

ROMANIAN MILITARY OFFICIAL MEETS WITH HODZIC

LD241126 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Mar (TANJUG)--Maj Gen Alexandru Petriceanu, deputy chief of staff of the patriotic Guards of the Romanian Armed Forces, who is paying an official and friendly visit with his aides to our country and its armed forces, today visited the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army. Major General Petriceanu and his aides were received by Col Gen Asim Hodzic.

They held talks of significance for the strengthening of the further cooperation and relations between the Armed Forces of the two friendly socialist countries. During his visit to our country, Major General Petriceanu and his aides will visit a number of Armed Forces units and establishments.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETS 24 MAR

LD241536 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)--The LCY Central Committee Presidium held a session in Belgrade today. The Presidium discussed topical ideo-political questions of public information and the tasks of the League of Communists in this connection as part of the preparations for one of the forthcoming sessions of the LCY Central Committee. Trpe Jakovlevski, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Rresidium, reported on the basic material.

The presidium discussed and established the orientation program of its work and a draft orientation program of work of the LCY Central Committee for the period up to the 12th LCY Congress.

A number of other questions in the sphere of the Presidium's regular activity were also discussed.

DUSAN DRAGOSAVAC VISITS TITOGRAD ENTERPRISES

LD241120 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 23 Mar 81

[Text] Titograd 23 Mar (TANJUG)--Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today spoke to the political aktiv of the 13 July agricultural combine about the international situation and its effect on the internal political situation in our country. Dr Dragosavac, accompanied by Vuko Vukadinovic, secretary of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, and Vojislav Raicevic, secretary of the Titograd League of Communists Municipal Committee, inspected the recently commissioned wine cellar of the 13 July agricultural combine. The cellar's capacity is 15 million liters a year.

Last night Dragosavac visited the Prerada works of the Titograd aluminum combine, where he acquainted himself with the successful activity of this modern factory which will process about 10,000 tons of aluminum this year, which is 25 percent more than last year.

Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also spoke in Titograd today to the republican political aktiv about his impressions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

BRIEFS

DEPARTING HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR--Skopje, 24 Mar (TANJUG)--Ljupco Arsov, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, today received a farewell visit from and engaged in discussion with Joszef Halasz, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic, prior to the latter's departure from our country. Ambassador Halasz was also received by Blagoj Popov, president of the Macedonian Executive Council, on which occasion the Hungarian ambassador put forward the Hungarian Government's suggestion that Popov's planned visit to the neighboring country take place in the second half of April of this year. During the day Ambassador Halasz paid farewell visits to Mito Micajkov, vice president of the Macedonian Assembly; Tomislav Simovski, republican secretary for international relations; and Metodi Antov, president of the Skopje City Assembly. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 24 Mar 81 LD]